# Whose Heritage?
# Archaeology and Identity in India

Thesis submitted for
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I, Brian Hole, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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# Abstract

This thesis investigates the role of World Heritage sites and archaeology in shaping identities and understandings of the past in India. In particular as the Indian past is increasingly contested, it is contended that archaeology has an important role to play in ensuring that the public are able to critically navigate the issues.

The focus encompasses both the broader public and the local communities and draws on public archaeology and identity and subaltern theories in order to consider their perspectives. This begins with a survey of the complex diversity of Indian society and its multiple levels of identity, then charts the expansion of archaeology from indigenous roots through the colonial period to the post-independence era, with particular attention paid to the co-option of the discipline by nationalist and communal movements, and to the development of relevant heritage legislation.

Employing a comparative case study methodology, 600 visitors and 60 local residents were interviewed at three World Heritage sites: The Rock Shelters of Bhimbetka and The Buddhist Monuments of Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh, and Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park in Gujarat.

The study found that visitors do relate to World Heritage sites in regard to identity, with communal factors playing a clear role, while the sociohistorical background of local residents was a factor in how they related. The way in which visitors learned from the sites was found to correlate strongly with their respective religions, and to depend on the interpretive information provided, while the local communities were not well informed. Visitor appreciation of archaeology was most correlated with educational level and the visibility of excavations, while local communities saw little benefit and generally felt restricted by it. In almost all aspects of the study communal tensions at Champaner-Pavagadh were seen to significantly influence the results, underlining the potential social and political importance of archaeology.

# Impact Statement

This thesis is one of the first studies to apply a public archaeology approach in India. It advances a new way of thinking about Indian world heritage sites, emphasizing the importance of local communities and the subaltern.

Extensive archival research demonstrates that previously held views on the political motivation of colonial archaeology in India are largely incorrect, and that the role of native states and scholars has been greatly underestimated for this period.

The survey work carried out is the first known to have addressed both visitors and local communities in India, and resulted in a large amount of qualitative and quantitative data that is uniquely able to find correlations between areas such as respondents' identity and attitudes towards heritage. The questionnaires and data analysis should prove useful as a basis for more extensive and comparative future studies.

The thesis' data and recommendations should also be of use in helping organizations outside of academia, such as the Archaeological Survey of India. This includes areas such as improving the way that world heritage sites inform and enrich the experience of visitors, and benefit the economic, political and social lives of local communities. Other conclusions from the data include the need to include archaeology even earlier in the Indian school curriculum, both to enable citizens to understand and interpret their own heritage with greater skill, and to help them identify when politics and religion force distortions in the interpretations offered to them.

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# Introduction

This thesis investigates the role of archaeology in Indian identity, both historically and currently through the lens of World Heritage sites. It aims to include multiple levels of society, with a focus on both the visitors to the sites as well as the local communities, While the management of the World Heritage is investigated, it is rather the experience of these individuals and communities that the thesis is constructed around.

The research is organised around four main questions:

1. How do visitors and local communities relate to Indian World Heritage sites in terms of identity?
2. How do Indian World Heritage sites help visitors and local communities to understand the past?
3. Do visitors to Indian World Heritage sites and local communities value the contribution of archaeology?
4. How important are local communities to Indian World Heritage sites, and do the sites benefit the local communities?

Public Archaeology, defined in its broadest term here as “a subject that examines the relationship between archaeology and the public, and then seeks to improve it” (Matsuda et al. 2011, 4) is still not established in India. Aside from standard visitor studies for the purposes of site management, no similar research has been carried out in India to date, while nonetheless a need for approaches combining, for example, archaeology, ethnography, literary studies and oral histories within the Indian context has been identified (Paddayya 2016, 445). It is thus hoped that the combined approach of this research, and its findings relating to public interaction with heritage and archaeology in terms of identity and nationalism, will be of use to those interested in Indian archaeological resource management, education, and political theory.

Chapter one provides an outline of identity theory, identifying approaches that are important for the analysis of the following research. The differing perceptions of time of the various cultures covered by the work are also investigated, along with considerations of how to understand the perspectives of subaltern communities. Indian identity across time is then summarised in order to provide background to the research.

Chapter two summarises the history of archaeology in India in order to provide an understanding of how current archaeological approaches have developed, as well as

public perceptions of the discipline. The overview starts with indigenous pre-colonial activity, then looks at developments during the colonial and post-colonial periods. Particular focus is given to the role of early Indian archaeologists, the princely states and universities, and to the role of nationalism in post-independence archaeology.

Chapter three similarly gives an overview of the legislation relevant to heritage and archaeology in India, by tracking the development of the legislation and associated issues through time from pre-colonial times to the present day, and then looks at how this influences both archaeologists and the public. This includes a focus on both national laws such as those providing for the preservation of monuments and regulating the collecting of antiquities, to international conventions such as the UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, under which the case study sites are listed and regulated.

Chapter four outlines the methodology of the field research conducted. It begins by situating the work under the broader theoretical approach of public archaeology, with influences from Marxist and subaltern theory. It then describes the selection of the case studies and details the fieldwork carried out at the three World Heritage sites: the rock shelters of Bhimbetka and the Buddhist monuments of Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh, and Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park in Gujarat. The methodology of data collection and analysis is outlined, including details of the 6 surveys carried out with a total of 600 visitors and 60 residents of local communities. Further detail is given of the difficulties and limitations encountered, as well as ethical precautions taken.

This work does not presume to speak for the local communities surveyed, but rather hopes to make a contribution to understanding their situation relative to archaeology and the past, partly improving the existing record by including their voices to a small extent and thereby removing some of the existing bias (Guha 1982, vii). What is most important is that their voices are taken seriously (Spivak 1990, 60).

Chapter five then provides extensive background information on the chosen case study sites. A demographic and socio-economic overview of both Madhya Pradesh and Gujarat is given, followed by a description of the archaeological activities undertaken at each of the sites to date, and of their inscription and constitution as World Heritage sites. The specific social, economic and political situations of the communities located within and around the sites are then described.

Chapter six analyses the results of the surveys, starting with the demographics of the participants and then taking their answers to look at each of the research questions in turn.

Finally, the summary and conclusions provide an overview of the results and highlight the key findings through which archaeology in India could both assist with issues of identity as well as provide greater benefit to local communities and other disadvantaged cultural groups.

# 1 Identity in India

## 1.1 Introduction

Identity is an important variable that helps, in part, to determine everything from how individuals behave in society, to how political movements are defined, and how governments set national policy. In a country such as India, with wide-ranging diversity and undergoing a process of modernization, this is a complex topic.

Because this thesis looks at Indian identity and its relationship to archaeology and the past, this chapter will give an overview of the elements of identity most relevant to these central themes. It begins with an overview of identity theory, looking at how identities are constructed and deployed. Many of the approaches outlined are used later in the thesis to aid in analysing historical and current identity in India, and to help define the methodology and focus of the fieldwork carried out. This is especially important, as all fieldwork involving human subjects 'is based on forms of intersubjective communication that cross constitutive boundaries' (Bunzl 2014, xxvi).

Five important elements of Indian identity are then examined: religion, caste, tribe, region and language. This list is by no means exhaustive, excluding gender for example, but the focus has been kept as tight as possible for practical reasons.

This is followed by an overview of how Indian identity is influenced by concepts of time, and how it can be interpreted through the perspective of subaltern theory. This is important as Western archaeology in particular often takes concepts of time, culture and identity for granted (Thomas 1999, ix).

Finally, identity in India is analysed over time, from the medieval to the post-independence eras, including a discussion of the role of identity in the politics of modern India, including nationalist movements.

## 1.2 A general overview of identity theory

As a key component determining the actions of individuals and groups within various systems, the study of identity has naturally become an important focus in a wide range of fields within the social sciences and humanities. While the common focus in studies of identity is on the 'individual' or 'subject', there are many diverse approaches and contexts,

which can result in quite divergent conclusions (du Gay et al. 2000a, 1). These approaches can be divided into four main kinds, partly following du Gay et al. (2000b), being 'subject of language', psychoanalytic, social-psychological and generally contextual methods.

### 1.2.1 'Subject of language' approaches

This strand of theories is grouped together from a diverse but intersecting group of mainly French academics, for example Althusser (Marxist philosophy), Benveniste (structural linguistics), Lacan (psychoanalysis), Derrida (philosophy), and Bhabha (literature and post-colonial theory), as well as, to a lesser extent, Foucault (Redman 2000, 9). These theories provide useful grounding principles and some valuable methods for questioning and clarifying identity issues. Overall, identity is seen as being formed 'through subject positions in language and wider cultural codes,' and originating in perceived difference to the other (Hall 1996, 4).

Foucault is acknowledged as one of the most influential theorists of the understanding of self (Callero 2003, 117). He generally rejects psychoanalytical approaches (Hall 1996, 10) and those that see identity originating within the subject, which he describes as 'the great myth of interiority' (Foucault 1989, 21). He is however very important for the concept of grounding identity in language, with the subject being produced as a by-product of discourse (Foucault 1994, xiv; Foucault 2006, 81).

Althusser has claimed that 'all ideology has the function (which defines it) of "constituting" concrete individuals as subjects' (Althusser 1977, 160), essentially that individuals acquire identity through recognizing themselves as subjects.

Benveniste in turn asserts that this is a natural effect of language, especially when focusing on difference:

> It is in and through language that man constitutes himself as a *subject,* because language alone establishes the concept of the "ego" in reality, in *its* reality which is that of the being… Consciousness of self is only possible if it is experienced by contrast.
>
> *(Benveniste 1973, 224)*

For Lacan, the 'mirror stage', or point at which an infant becomes able to recognise itself in a mirror, demonstrated that we first receive our identity from the outside, following which language takes over as the identity-creating 'other':

> The jubilant assumption [assomption] of his specular image by the kind of being – still trapped in his motor impotence and nursling dependence – the

> little man is at the *infans* stage thus seems to me to manifest in an exemplary situation the symbolic matrix in which the *I* is precipitated in a primordial form, prior to being objectified in the dialectic of identification with the other, and before language restores to it, in the universal, its function as subject.
>
> *(Lacan 2005, 76)*

Derrida further develops these theories with the concept of *différance*, whereby identity stems not from any true essence, but from relations of difference inherent in language and other aspects of culture. Because it is always formed in relation to something which the subject is not, it is also perpetually unstable and changeable.

> … the signified concept is never present in and of itself, in a sufficient presence that would refer only to itself. Essentially and lawfully, every concept is inscribed in a chain or in a system within which it refers to the other, to other concepts, by means of the systematic play of differences.
>
> *(Derrida et al. 1991, 63)*

Focusing on the identity of the colonised, Bhabha also sees this as based on difference to the Other, but generally controlled by the Other:

> The demand of identification – that is, to be *for* an Other – entails the representation of the subject in the differentiating order of otherness. Identification… is always the return of an image of identity that bears the mark of splitting in the Other place from which it comes.
>
> *(Bhabha 2004, 64)*

Essentially by representing the subject on its own terms, or by negating or not mentioning it at all, the Other is both able to stifle the subject's identity, but also undermines itself as this deliberate invisibility becomes apparent (Bhabha 2004, 67).

### 1.2.2 Alternative psychoanalytical approaches

Several psychoanalytical approaches that do not depend on linguistic theory are also important. As opposed to the mainly French practitioners of the 'subject as language' approach, these tend to be more British in origin, representing the Kleinian school of psychoanalysis (Evans 2000, 121). In comparison to the former, this school tends to posit a stronger, more complex and autonomous role for a person's 'inner world'. Instead of being led by the external world, the internal can be said to instead actively use aspects of it to represent its own features. Important proponents of this school include Klein, Winnicot and Rustin.

Rather than relying totally on the Other to form an identity, Klein postulates that a sense of a differentiated self is already possessed at birth:

> … from the beginning object relations are moulded by an interaction between introjection and projection, between internal and external objects and situations. These processes participate in the building up of the ego and the superego…
>
> *(Klein 1991, 176–177)*

Following Klein, Winnicott also holds that an infant has a sense of self from the beginning. He differentiates his position from that of Lacan by claiming that instead of requiring a mirror to recognise himself, the infant uses his mother's face to reflect and reinforces his own ego.

> What does the baby see when he or she looks at the mother's face? I am suggesting that, ordinarily, what the baby sees is himself or herself. In other words the mother is looking at the baby and *what she looks like is related to what she sees there.*
>
> *(Winnicott 1971, 131)*

Taking his analysis beyond the infant stage, Rustin also emphasises that identity is by no means only created by external factors:

> … this is true of national identities; class identities, even if formed in relation to antagonistic classes, usually develop some positive values and categorizations of their own, which do not need the threat of the other class to keep them in being.
>
> *(Rustin 1991, 59)*

He also sees racial identities as being predominantly due to negative feelings and anxieties being experienced internally, and then negatively projected onto 'out-groups', rather than being either instinctual or due to the actions of those groups (Rustin 1991, 61).

### 1.2.3 Social-Psychological approaches

Social psychology is seen as a scientific, rather than humanist, approach to understanding social conduct (Jackson 1988, x). Within this sub-discipline, identity theory generally builds on the concept of 'structural symbolic interactionism', whereby society is stable, and precedes the individual:

> …society is patterned and organised, and the self emerges within the context of a complex, organised society.
>
> *(Burke et al. 2009, 37)*

Prominent researchers focusing on identity include McCall and Simmons, Stryker, Burke, Heise, Swan, and Giddens.

The work of McCall and Simmons sees identities as improvised, prioritised and negotiated. It is recognised that individuals have more than one role identity, and these are organised within the self according to a 'salience hierarchy'. The position of an identity in the hierarchy depends on the following factors:

- Prominence (most important)
- Support received
- Rewards received
- Perceived opportunity structure (profit)

*(McCall et al. 1978, 41)*

Stryker in turn focuses on the structures inherent in society, and how they affect self-identity (Stryker 2008, 20). A person's identity, or identities, are therefore formed by the process of internalising society's expectations for the roles they play in it (Stryker et al. 2000, 289). Taking the salience hierarchy developed by McCall and Simmons, Stryker gives weight to the additional factor of commitment, which he equates as the costs of not playing out an identity role. This can be measured quantitatively, based on the number of people the subject is related to through a given identity, and expressed qualitatively in terms of the 'depth' of ties to others sharing that identity (Stryker 2006, 228).

Burke on the other hand looks less at the relationship of identity to society, and more at its internal dynamics. In this he postulates that identity is directly linked to behaviour, which can be mapped through a common system of meaning. He has developed a survey and measurement system for this, based on bipolar dimensions (Burke et al. 2009, 91). He has then further developed this work to include the concept of a perceptual control system, a kind of 'cybernetic' model that describes the internal process of identity assignment and expression in a form similar to a computer algorithm (Burke et al. 2009, 61).

More grounded within psychology, Swann has developed 'self-verification' theory. In this he argues that individuals constantly seek to validate their internal self-views, even when these are negative, as a means to confirming the predictability and stability of the world around them. According to this theory, people seek to claim identities through visible means and social behaviour, with a preference for interacting with others who confirm those identities (Swann 2012, 23).

Finally and in contrast to the above theories, Giddens argues that society is far from static, and that the rules of identity can change. Individuals in what he terms 'post-traditional culture' have become particularly reflexive and less anchored by traditional societal

structures. As a result there is a much stronger focus on the self as being un-fixed and self-constructing:

> We are, not what we are, but what we make of ourselves… what the individual becomes is dependent on the reconstructive endeavors in which he or she engages.
>
> *(Giddens 1991, 75)*

### 1.2.4 Sociological approaches

Sociological approaches to identity tend to focus on the processes that make a 'person' or a particular kind of person with a particular set of roles in society.

Elias was a proponent of 'figurational', or 'process' sociology, a more empirical methodology that focuses on the process of emergence of identities and other social phenomena, in order to better understand it's function in the present (Morrow 2009, 216). He stressed the importance of understanding individuals as highly interlinked members of a society that has developed through time, rather than as being completely separate and independent:

> One of the peculiarities of the traditional image of man is that people often speak and think of individuals and societies as if these were two phenomena existing separately…
>
> *(Elias 1968, 221)*

> …the inability to conceive long-term social processes (i.e. structured changes in the figurations formed by large numbers of interdependent human beings) or to understand the human beings forming such figurations is connected to a certain type of image of man and of self-perception.
>
> *(Elias 1968, 223)*

This has been underlined in the work of Bourdieu, who stresses that you can only understand categories of persons and their identities with reference to the underlying discourses and practices of society, in much the same way that you cannot 'make sense out of a subway route without taking into account the network structure' (Bourdieu 2000, 302).

In line with Elias and Bourdieu, Marshall sees an individual as being deeply networked in society, with various roles and statuses emerging as a result, e.g. social, legal, governmental, aesthetic. Importantly, he emphasises that while all of these elements contribute to determining the overall social position of a person, they cannot simply be added up to produce a 'unitary result' (Marshall 1977, 224).

This position is advanced by Rose with what he calls 'the genealogy of subjectification'. Rose sets himself apart from theorists such as Giddens (1991), who see changes in identity as being due to wider social and cultural transformations. While not denying the that the importance of these, he avoids an overall synthesis of a person, and instead focuses on more practically analysing the 'mundane practices', of problematization, technology, authority, teleology and strategy, which are involved in governing each of a person's identified roles (Rose 1996, 130–134).

Mauss in turn very importantly looks at how concepts of self that we may take for granted differ between cultures and have evolved over time. In this he distinguishes between 'individuals' as unstructured or undefined human beings, 'persons' as having instituted statuses and roles with which they conduct social relations, and 'subjects' which represent the way in which individuals have obtained the attributes of personhood (Mauss 1985, 22). This clarification of terminology is particularly useful because it also highlights the fact that individuals are not persons in all societies or situations (Hunter et al. 1995, 72–73).

The work of Foucault in *The Use of Pleasure* provides valuable insight into understanding religious identities, making the point that describing a religion or moral code is not the same as describing of the practices and beliefs of the people following it:

> …one must determine how and with what margins of variation or transgression individuals or groups conduct themselves in reference to a prescriptive system that is explicitly or implicitly operative in their culture… For a rule of conduct is one thing; the conduct that may be measured by this rule is another.
>
> *(Foucault 1990, 25–26)*

### 1.2.5 Subaltern studies approaches

Subaltern theory was first expounded by Gramsci, who defined the subaltern classes as those who are not afforded a role within the state, and are therefore effectively powerless (Gramsci 1971, 52). In this Gramsci brought to attention a section of a population whose voice is seldom directly heard, and whose identities therefore are recorded and interpreted by other dominant groups. As such subaltern studies is predominantly focused on the rewriting of histories to include subaltern and postcolonial perspectives and identities.

Gramsci proposed the active study of the following aspects of the subaltern, which are all tied to understanding the identities of such groups:

> 1. the objective formation of the subaltern social groups, by the developments and transformations occurring in the sphere of economic production; their

> quantitative diffusion and their origins in pre-existing social groups, whose mentality, ideology and aims they conserve for a time;
>
> 2. their active or passive affiliation to the dominant political formations, their attempts to influence the programmes of these formations in order to press claims of their own, and the consequences of these attempts in determining processes of decomposition, renovation or neo-formation;
>
> 3. the birth of new parties of the dominant groups, intended to conserve the assent of the subaltern groups and to maintain control over them;
>
> 4. the formations which the subaltern groups themselves produce, in order to press claims of a limited and partial character;
>
> *(Gramsci 1971, 52)*

The major problem here is that in the majority of cases, "the subaltern cannot speak" (Spivak 1988, 308). They are necessarily represented only indirectly through the writings of others in the dominant social classes (Said 1988, v). It is therefore critical to seek out these voices in order to comprehensively speak of the identity of an entire population.

In India the subaltern comprises among others tribal, low caste or dalit, and peasant communities and above all women (Misir 2018, 4). Very little work has been done specifically on subaltern or peasant identity. This is partly of course because official history is written by the elite classes, but even those who seek to focus on these groups specifically have chosen to avoid the topic and instead concentrated on the actions of the subaltern, such as peasant insurgencies (e.g. Guha 1999) and environmental activism (Baviskar 2004). The subaltern studies group in fact explicitly rules out the study of subaltern consciousness and identity, on the premise that because the subaltern are unable to speak for themselves by their very definition, these elements are simply not recoverable (Spivak 2006, 202–203).

Nonetheless, it is obvious that the subaltern do have their own identities, which it is more than reasonable to assume function the same way those of all others do, or in the same way that Gramsci saw subaltern religion as 'a specific way of rationalizing the world and real life', providing a 'general framework for real political activity' (Gramsci 1971, 337). While Gramsci had also claimed that 'subaltern groups are always subject to the authority of ruling groups, even when they rebel and rise up' (Gramsci 1971, 55), there is recognition among subaltern studies scholars that they are nonetheless autonomous in their beliefs, actions and identities (Arnold 1984, 168), no less intellectually capable than other groups despite issues such as illiteracy (Spivak 1990, 57), and possessing of internal movements to surface and re-assert their own knowledge (Mignolo 2000, 13). The range of approaches to identity theory above are summarised in Table 1.

| Subject of language approaches | Alt. Psychoanalytical approaches | Social-Psychological Approaches | Sociological Approaches | Subaltern approaches |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Identity is formed through subject positions in language | Identity and a differentiated self are already present at birth (Klein) | Individuals have more than one role identity, organised into a 'salience hierarchy', weighted to prominence (McCall & Simmons) | Focus on the 'person' and their societal roles. | Focus on the marginal and powerless. |
| The subject is produced through discourse (Foucault) | Infant identity is gained through observance of the mother (Winnicott) | Role identities are formed by internalising society's expectations, commitment most effects salience (Stryker) | Focus on process of emergence of identity (Elias) | One should study the origins of the subaltern, their attempts to influence other groups, to control them, and their own politics (Gramsci) |
| Individuals acquire identity by recognising themselves as subjects (Althusser) | Most identities are self-sustaining and do not require outside influence (Rustin) | Identity is directly linked to behaviour through common meaning, and can be measured (Burke) | Identities emerge through the discourses and practices of Society (Bourdieu) | Because the subaltern cannot speak, they must be interpreted and/or actively sought out (Spivak & Said) |
| All identities are formed through contrast (Benveniste) | | Individuals constantly seek to validate internal self-views, and seek to claim identities with visible and social behaviour (Swann) | Can only ever speak of elements rather than entire identities (Marshall) | |
| Identity is formed from the outside, and is not present at birth (Lacan) | | Identity is changeable and self-determined in the modern world (Giddens) | Focus on 'mundane' practices that form roles and identities (Rose) | |
| Identity is always formed in relation to something which it is not, and is therefore unstable (Derrida) | | | Concept of 'individuals', 'persons' and 'subjects'. Not all individuals are persons. (Maus) | |
| Identity is controlled and conferred by the Other (Bhabha) | | | Describing a religion is not the same as describing the actual conduct or beliefs of its followers. (Foucault) | |

Table 1: Summary of approaches to identity theory.

### 1.2.6 Application of these approaches in this thesis

The theories and approaches outlined above provide a very useful toolkit for this thesis, not only for interpreting the work of others looking at India, but also for designing the research methodologies to be employed and interpreting the results. While the various studies often seem to conflict with one another, this is generally due to the fact that though focusing on identity generally, their proponents are asking different questions in different contexts (Rorty 2000, 379). As long as these varying contexts are kept in mind, then lessons can be learned from all of these approaches, and they can be used in combination as appropriate.

As is especially clear from the subject of language approaches, identity is predominantly acquired from the outside, and it is therefore important to pay attention to the institutional and social settings of the individuals and communities studied. In particular, the ways in which identity is actually controlled by the Other, as described by Bhabha, will be explored. Of the alternative psychoanalytical approaches, Rustin's point that many identities are also self-sustaining and less outward looking will be taken into account. Another important lesson to draw from all of the psychoanalytical approaches together is that one should always look at the subject in its current and historical contexts, understanding that it may be particular to that local context and not suitable for generalisation.

Of the social-psychological approaches, the salience hierarchies developed by McCall and Simmons and Stryker will be considered when analysing the identities of the communities under study, and as a means of describing the degree of importance of archaeology and the past to them. Burke's approach of mapping identities to behaviours and measuring these will be employed in the design and analysis of the surveys. Swann's thesis that internal identities are constantly being validated and claimed through external display and interaction will also be considered in the analysis.

Of the sociological approaches, care will be taken that individuals are examined within the contemporary and historical contexts of their societies and associated networks, in line with the work of Elias and Bourdieu, and to not to go too far in overstating the dominance of one form of identity over another, following Marshall. The definitions proposed by Mauss of individuals, persons and subjects will be followed as consistently as possible throughout the thesis, and the distinctions used to assist with analysis.

Finally, the approach of subaltern studies will be critical to the research and analysis in this thesis, as the work would be especially incomplete and misrepresentative without it.

Gramsci's guidelines will be used when analysing both Indian society as a whole, and the particular communities in focus. Although it is a difficult task, subaltern members of these communities will be sought out during the survey work, and background studies from subaltern scholars will be used to provide a more balanced overview than would otherwise be possible.

## 1.3 Elements of Indian Identity

India is an extremely diverse country on many levels, with a wide range of personal identities reflecting this. One individual may possess a mixture of identities quite different to those of his neighbour, including community, tribal, historical, caste, occupational, economic, religious, linguistic, and racial identities (Sen 2006, 18). Many of these identities are the result of a great deal of interaction between various communities over time. While on the one hand it can be argued that no other part of the world has such a long and uninterrupted cultural tradition (Basham 1975, 2), Indian culture has nonetheless been progressively added to by incoming migrations, including the Proto-Australoids, Dravidians, the Harappan civilization, Aryans, Arabs, Turks, Portuguese and British. For these reasons it can be difficult for many Indians to speak of an all-encompassing Indian national identity as it feels like an artificial construction akin to what a European national identity would be (Spivak 1990, 39).

Nevertheless, some aspects of Indian culture have remained remarkably stable over time, such as elements of the caste system. Vatsyayan describes this mixture of change and continuity with the following metaphor:

> The flow of a tradition may be compared to a double-reed flute. One reed is a perennial strain, a tonic, and immutable trans-space and -time; the other reed plays the tune of immediate time and space. The one is repetitive but stable; the other changing. The two together create the music that sounds different at different times.
>
> *(Vatsyayan 2005, 40)*

Similarly, the way in which the Indian society functions, allowing a wide range of identities but constraining their roles, has been summarised by Bose (1975, 9) as "the equal tolerance of diverse modes of living, and their unequal ranking on a widely accepted scale."

However, despite the relatively perpetual stability of Indian society it is important to understand that what we consider to be clear and constant strands of identity today, may

have been anything but that over time. It has been shown for example, that even dominant terms such as ‘Hindu’ were applied very differently in the past (Pandey 1993). Many historical identities have been to a degree interpreted and constructed by Western researchers, often biased by the textual material they have relied on, so sensitivity to context is very important. Bayly writes that:

> … one may very well doubt whether there was ever an identifiable 'Muslim', 'Hindu' or 'Sikh' identity which could be abstracted from the particular circumstances of individual events or specific societies... In some ways, the *Annales* term 'mentalite' seems much more acceptable, implying as it does a more variable, ambiguous or fragmented form of consciousness and one that is partly contingent on social and economic circumstances rather than constructive of them.
>
> *(Bayly 1985, 202)*

Even historical data that is seen as being measured and objective, can in fact be quite variable in its accuracy due to varying social factors and contexts. The Indian national census for example, is widely regarded as providing reliable data for every decade from 1881 onwards (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 15), but it has been shown to contain important inaccuracies regarding language (Kripalani 1997, 406–7) and caste (Srinivas 1969, 96).

As part of the contextual awareness required when looking at the Indian past, it is important to note that two important factors that have played roles in affecting change and moulding identities throughout history are Sanskritization and Westernization (Srinivas 1969, 1). These will be covered in detail under caste and tribe, and colonial India respectively.

The following sections look at important individual aspects of Indian identity, taking note of the restrictions outlined above.

### 1.3.1 Religion

Overall, 99.1% of Indians belong to one of six main religious groups of Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Sikhs, Buddhists and Jains, with Hindus being the dominant group at just under 80% (see Table 2).

| Religion | Total persons | % |
|---|---|---|
| Hindu | 966,257,353 | 79.80 |
| Muslim | 172,245,158 | 14.23 |
| Christian | 27,819,588 | 2.30 |
| Sikh | 20,833,116 | 1.72 |
| Buddhist | 8,442,972 | 0.70 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Jain | 4,451,753 | 0.37 |
| Other religions and persuasions (incl. Unclassified Sect.) | 7,937,734 | 0.66 |
| Religion not stated | 2,867,303 | 0.24 |

Table 2: Population by Religious Community (Gov. India 2011e)

Religion is often the only aspect of Indian identity taken into account by outside analysts, who assume or imply that India is a Hindu majority country in the sense of a unified Hindu culture, but the reality is much more complex. Nonetheless, religion does occupy a much larger psychological space in India than in other places. Being more salient, it therefore also plays a stronger role in identity and conflicts (Kakar 1996, 364–5), and the 20th century has seen the South Asian subcontinent politically subdivided along purely religious lines with the splitting of Pakistan and Bangladesh from India (Gaborieau 1985, 7). In parallel, India has also deeply influenced the religious life of most of the rest of Asia, for example through the spread of Hindu and Buddhist traditions (Basham 1975, 1).

The essential natures of the major Indian religions are briefly described in the following, followed by general discussions of secularism and conflict.

#### *1.3.1.1 Hindu religion*

An important point to make here is that the terms ‘Hindu’ and ‘Hinduism’ can be applied both to a specific religion, and also much more broadly to a range of cultural traditions and religions from South Asia sharing the same geographic origin. These varying meanings partly depend on the viewpoint and politics of the person using them, as well as the time period involved. At the beginning of the 20th century, it was still not clear which of the religious traditions belonged under this umbrella (Pandey 1993, 246), but now it is common for Jainism, Buddhism and many folk religions to be classified as sects of Hinduism (Gaborieau 1985, 8). This can result in extremely inclusive definitions, whereby Hinduism can be said to include normally incompatible spiritual approaches including polytheism, monotheism, pantheism, animism, and atheism (Radhakrishnan 1997, 63). In this section however the focus will be on what might more concisely be termed ‘orthodox Hinduism’, and Buddhism and Jainism etc. will be treated as separate religions. The political element to the name will be covered in the section on post-colonial India.

Hinduism has also changed and developed significantly over the past four millennia, for example with many of the its most popular gods today including Rama, Hanuman and Ganesha not known to have been mentioned prior to the Common Era (Basham 1975, 1).

This remarkable ability to grow and absorb the gods of diverse communities while remaining coherent and stable is summarised by Radhakrishnan:

> … when we turn our attention to the spiritual life, devotion and endeavour which lie behind the creeds, we realize the unity, the indefinable self-identity, which however, is by no means static or absolute…
>
> *(Radhakrishnan 1997, 60).*

> A religion that is based on the central truth of a comprehensive universal spirit cannot support an inflexible dogmatism. It adopts an attitude of toleration not as a matter of policy or expediency, but as a principle of spiritual life.
>
> *(Radhakrishnan 1997, 70).*

#### *1.3.1.2 Muslim religion*

South Asian Muslims form the largest Muslim population in the world, their proportion of the global population increasing from ca. 25% in 1985 (Gaborieau 1985, 7) to ca. 34% in 2010 (see Table 3).

| Country | Estimated 2010 Muslim Population | % of world Muslim population |
|---|---|---|
| Pakistan | 178,097,000 | 11.13 |
| India | 177,286,000 | 11.08 |
| Bangladesh | 148,607,000 | 9.29 |
| Afghanistan | 29,047,000 | 1.82 |
| Sri Lanka | 1,725,000 | 0.11 |
| Nepal | 1,253,000 | 0.08 |
| Maldives | 309,000 | 0.02 |
| Bhutan | 7,000 | 0.00 |
| **Subtotal for South Asia** | **536,331,000** | **33,52** |
| Indonesia | 204,847,000 | 12.80 |
| Egypt | 80,024,000 | 5.00 |
| Nigeria | 75,728,000 | 4.73 |
| Iran | 74,819,000 | 4.68 |
| Turkey | 74,660,000 | 4.67 |
| **Subtotal** | **510,078,000** | **31.88** |
| Other countries | 553,591,000 | 34.60 |

Table 3: Muslim population by country, comparing South Asia as a region. Data adapted from Pew Research Center (2011).

Muslims are in the majority in Lakshadweep and Jammu and Kashmir, and for a significant part of the population in Assam (31%), West Bengal (25%), Kerala (24%), Uttar Pradesh (1%) and Bihar (16%) (Gov. India 2001c).

While it is often described as a highly dogmatic and strict religion (often by Hindu nationalists), it has been common for Indian Muslims to incorporate Hindu traditions into their religious practice. Ahmad gives the following examples from the early 19th century:

> … quasi-worship at various syncretistic or pseudo-Muslim shrines, and floating of the *bherā* (ceremonial boat), a fertility rite, ceremonial dances, planting of banana trees (phallic symbols) round the house on the occasion of the first menstruation of a girl, and other such rites.
>
> *(Ahmad 1997, 385)*

#### *1.3.1.3 Christian religion*

Interestingly, Christianity has now become the majority religion in the three North-eastern states of Nagaland, Mizoram and Meghalaya, while Christians also make up a significant proportion of the population in Manipur (34%), Goa (27%), the Andaman and Nicobar Islands (22%), Kerala (19%) and Arunachal Pradesh (19%) (Gov. India 2001c).

#### *1.3.1.4 Sikh religion*

The vast majority of Sikhs (over 75%) are located in the Punjab (Gov. India 2011e).

#### *1.3.1.5 Buddhist religion*

Although not a dominant religion in India today at under 1% of the population (Gov. India 2011e), Buddhism has nonetheless played a very important role in Indian history, as described by Basham:

> Buddhism developed into a great religious movement in India, changed its outlook almost completely, and finally sank back into the Hinduism from which it had emerged.
>
> *(Basham 1975, 1)*

Today Buddhists are only really dominant in Maharashtra, where 77% of all Indian Buddhists live, representing 6% of the state population (Gov. India 2011e).

#### *1.3.1.6 Jain religion*

At 0.4% of the population, Jains are spread very thinly. With 1.3% of the population in Maharashtra, 1.2% in Rajasthan, 1.1% in Delhi, and 1% in Gujarat, the 2001 Indian Census describes their presence elsewhere in the country as “negligible” (Gov. India 2001c).

#### *1.3.1.7 Other religions and persuasions*

Unfortunately folk religions tend to be understudied, which Srinivas (1969, 192) attributes to the fact that there are a mass of scriptural translations from the main religions that take researchers' attention, and that the majority of educated Indians tend to be higher caste, and therefore biased against this focus.

#### *1.3.1.8 Secularism*

In many ways India has a long tradition of secularism. Pre-colonial Hindu traditions allowed a lot of autonomy politically and religiously, and the Islamic rulers granted protection to 'non-believers' (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 370). Similarly the British did not impose Christianity, and a process of increasing secularization has been continued by the majority of post-independence governments (Srinivas 1969, 118).

#### *1.3.1.9 Religious conflict*

While India is renowned for its religious tolerance and diversity, conflict has nonetheless been a constant feature of its history. The most general features of religious conflict are described here, while historical instances are detailed in later sections of this chapter.

All religious communities are involved from time to time, but due to their being the two largest religious communities and with a long political history, Hindu-Muslim conflict is the most conspicuous and enduring. Many Hindus and Muslims see their religions as diametrically opposed (Gaborieau 1985, 8), an example of identity being formed through contrast to its opposite, as described by Derrida (1991, 63). Each community also tends to perceive this conflict as being fundamental and unchanging over time, rather than local in context (Kakar 1996, 298). High-caste Hindus tend to view Muslims less favourably than low-caste Hindus do, which is mirrored on the Muslim side (Majeed et al. 1982, 460). As many modern Muslims tend to be poor, for example having the lowest employment rate of all religions in the 2011 census (Gov. India 2011e), this can be partly analysed as being a case of a positive identity being formed in relation to the opposite (i.e. richer) other.

One of the major divisions between Hindus and Muslims is the killing and eating of cows, which is today a major taboo for Hindus (Kakar 1996, 291). Cow killing has been a regular element in communal riots from the 17$^{th}$ century onwards, which Gaborieau (1985, 9) sees as a 'ritual provocation'.

### 1.3.2 Caste

It has been said that “It is no exaggeration that the caste system is the most studied yet misunderstood problem in Indian society and history” (Singh 2006, 93), and this chapter is only able to provide a high level overview that must exclude much of its complexity. The modern Indian caste system, based on the ordering concepts of *varṇa* (class) and *jāti* (caste), divides society into thousands of separate groups based on occupation, often independently of religion (though it should be noted that while this is a dominant model today, Hindu culture was not always so homogenous in the past, and included many other non-Brahmanic traditions (Thapar 1989, 215). 16.5% of the modern population are further classified as ‘scheduled castes’ (Nag 2001, 61), often referred to as dalits, Harijans or ‘untouchables’, and because of their alienation by the majority of society this identity is heavily reinforced. Today, many of the identities described above are also changing, often due to political and economic factors, as is the case of groups in Assam, where Adivasi peoples who were resettled by the British to cultivate tea and are officially recognised as members of Other Backward Classes, are now agitating for Scheduled Tribe status (Ananthanarayanan 2008).

*Varṇa* is a structuring of society along religious lines, where the castes are divided into five classes, and which has essentially served to protect the positions of Brahmins and other high-ranking castes since the Vedic period. Srinivas (Srinivas 1969, 3) describes its main points as follows:

1. There is a single all-India hierarchy without any variations between one region and another;
2. there are only four *varṇas*, or, if the Harijans, who are literally “beyond the pale” of caste, are included, five;
3. the hierarchy is clear; and
4. it is immutable.

The *varṇa* hierarchy consists of Brahmins in the top position, followed by Kshatriyas and Vaisyas. These *varṇa* are considered the most pure, and to be “twice born”. Next come the Shudra, and below this are essentially the dalits, or untouchables (see Figure 1).

- Brahmin
- Kshatriya
- Vaisya

  -------- ‘twice born’ above the line

- Shudra

  -------- ‘untouchable’ below the line
- Dalits

Figure 1: The *varṇa* hierarchy (based on Srinivas 1969, 8)

While *varṇa* today is largely a class structure, it’s literal meaning is ‘colour’ and it originally had racial overtones, as described in the *Mahabharata*: “Brahmins are fair [white], Kshatriyas ruddy [red], Vaishyas sallow [yellow], and Shudras dark [black]” (Doniger 2009, 286).

The castes themselves are known as *jātis*, and are familial birth-groups within which members are expected to marry, and which determine their profession (Frazier 2011, 26–7). Up to 500 *jātis* may coexist in each of the linguistic areas of India (Srinivas 1969, 4). Caste is a very localised phenomenon, and often a much more core aspect of an individual’s identity than religion. This is exemplified in the case of the Pardis, who view themselves in terms of caste and tribe above all else, unless they are comparing themselves to Muslims, in which case they call themselves Hindu (Kakar 1996, 288). In this case the Hindu identity is very much seen in contrast to that of the Muslims.

While the classes themselves are immutable, castes are sometimes able to move within them over time. Colour is not therefore always a barrier to movement, but when a caste moves they do sometimes still remain subject to considerable prejudice despite their new *varṇa* position. Some brahmin groups for example are so poorly regarded that even dalits will not allow themselves to be contaminated by relations with them (Srinivas 1969, 3–5). Paradoxically, today this can be because the brahmin continue to provide their ritual function and are seen to pollute themselves by receiving payment from lower groups, while those who no longer carry out these functions are seen as more pure (Frazier 2011, 309).

The process by which castes move within the class system has been termed ‘sanskritization’ by Srinivas:

> Sanskritization is the process by which a ‘low’ Hindu caste, or tribal or other group, changes its customs, ritual, ideology, and way of life in the direction of a high, and frequently, ‘twice-born’ caste.
>
> *(Srinivas 1969, 6)*

A claim to a new class position is normally made over several generations before it is accepted, and often involves a conscious decision to imitate the members of a higher caste:

> … a Bāriā from Nānugām was seen walking through Mōtāgām wearing his *dhoti* in the distinctive Pātidār style, sporting a large handle-bar moustache which Pātidār of the period cultivated, and smoking a portable *hookah*. A leading Pātidār had him caught and forcibly shaved, and he was ordered, on pain of a beating, never to try to look like a Pātidār again…
>
> *(Pocock 1957, 26)*

The above example embodies many classic theories of identity formation, whereby the Bāriā's identity is formed in contrast to that of the Pātidār (Benveniste) and is controlled and conferred by the Pātidār (Bhabha). At the same time he is attempting to claim the new identity through visible behaviour (Swann).

This process has always occurred, but it accelerated under colonialism when some castes were able to increase their prosperity due to links to the British, and therefore to advance their status. According to Srinvas the result was this:

> … had what economists call a "demonstration effect" on all low castes in the region, bringing home to them in a poignant way that they could move out of their own unenviable position… It was as though they suddenly woke up to the fact that they were no longer inhabiting a prison.
>
> *(Srinivas 1969, 91)*

While caste is often portrayed as a system where the majority of groups are resigned to their limited position in society and relatively content, this does not seem to be true in reality. Srinivas describes the constant process of contrast and striving which characterizes the changing identity of an individual or group undergoing Sanskritization:

> I am equal to those who think of themselves as my betters, I am better than those who regard themselves as my equals, and how dare my inferiors claim equality with me?
>
> *(Srinivas 1969, 92)*

### 1.3.3 Tribe

Outside of the caste system, 8% of the population belong to 212 'scheduled tribes' as described by the 1950 constitution (Nag 2001, 61). Tribal, or *Adivasi* ('original inhabitants'), groups are distinguished by their own societal organisation, and have generally always been separate from the mainstream of society, often being recognised as the original or aboriginal inhabitants of India. Once again however, just because they are tribal does not mean that they do not share a language or religion, including Hinduism, with other groups.

While Adivasi are by definition outside of the caste system, this is not necessarily a permanent condition, and they also go through processes of sanskritization. A case study

of the Pardi tribal community in Hyderabad for example, found that while they had shared a much closer historical relationship with Muslims, they had now successfully managed to become associated with high-caste Hindus (Kakar 1996, 274). This process involved establishing an origin myth, which claimed close relations to the Marwadis, a highly respected business caste, giving up beef (Kakar 1996, 290), and introducing Hindu marriage customs such as dowries and involvement of Brahmin in rituals. As a result they were granted a step up the ladder in the *varṇa* system by being transferred from scheduled tribe to backward caste status. This paradoxically led to a loss of economic benefits and privileges under the Indian reservation system, and they are now lobbying the government to be granted tribal status again (*The Hindu* 2006). And worse, the new Hindu status of the community led to them being targeted in communal violence by local Muslims during the 1990 Hyderabad riots (Kakar 1996, 285).

Adivasi identity and behaviour can also impact upon the identities of the high-caste Hindus. The historical identity of the dominant members of the Bengali population for example, had been based in part on the belief that Adivasi had been naturally dominated by the Arya on their arrival, and that this continuing domination was perfectly natural. This belief was constantly shaken by the repeated rebellions of the Santals from 1785-1917, which demonstrated that they were not simply 'primitive' and subservient by nature, and by extension never had been so (Banerjee 2002, 244).

For the subaltern tribes, belief in a shared ancestry enables a village to organize and act in its own interests against outsiders as a unit (Spivak 1988, 29). Such identity can also be strongly enforced by a shared history of dispossession (Baviskar 2005, 1509).

### 1.3.4 Region

There are significant regional identity differences throughout India. Important among these is a north-south divide, with the north being Indo-Aryan speaking, and the south predominantly Dravidian. The division is also political, and historically the northern Kingdoms seldom managed to extend fully south (Thapar 1998, 221). This is demonstrated for example by the attitudes of Tamils to 'northern Aryans' being similar in nature to those of the Welsh to the English (Basham 1975, 6). There is similarly a strong east-west divide. Western India for example is described as having the standard of living of Latin America, while the Eastern half has that of Africa (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 370). Overall there is also a large amount of regional variation in caste within the *varṇa* system (Srinivas 1969, 3).

### 1.3.5 Language

Deriving from three main language groups – Indo-European, Dravidian and Austro-Pacific, there are over 122 official languages and 234 mother tongues spoken in India, with 23 of the languages classed as scheduled. Throughout the population 70% speak Indo-Aryan languages, less than 1/3 the Dravidian languages, a little over 1% speak Austric languages, and less than 1% the Sino-Indian languages (Kripalani 1997, 406).

Language distribution follows environmental divisions, reflecting the time it takes for new languages to spread across barriers (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 16). Regional linguistic identity is strong enough that the government of India redrew state boundaries to reflect language groupings in the 1950s (Manor 1996, 466).

| Name of language | Number of persons who returned the language as their mother tongue | Percentage of population |
|---|---|---|
| Assamese | 13,168,484 | 1.3 |
| Bengali | 83,369,769 | 8.1 |
| Bodo | 1,350,478 | 0.1 |
| Dogri | 2,282,589 | 0.2 |
| Gujarati | 46,091,617 | 4.5 |
| Hindi | 422,048,642 | 41.0 |
| Kannada | 37,924,011 | 3.7 |
| Kashmiri | 5,527,698 | 0.5 |
| Konkani | 2,489,015 | 0.2 |
| Maithili | 12,179,122 | 1.2 |
| Malayalam | 33,066,392 | 3.2 |
| Manipuri | 1,466,705 | 0.1 |
| Marathi | 71,936,894 | 7.0 |
| Nepali | 2,871,749 | 0.3 |
| Oriya | 33,017,446 | 3.2 |
| Punjabi | 29,102,477 | 2.8 |
| Sanskrit | 14,135 | 0.0 |
| Santali | 6,469,600 | 0.6 |
| Sindhi | 2,535,485 | 0.2 |
| Tamil | 60,793,814 | 5.9 |
| Telugu | 74,002,856 | 7.2 |
| Urdu | 51,536,111 | 5.0 |
| Non-scheduled languages | 33,576,589 | 3.3 |

Table 4: Distribution of the 23 scheduled languages (adapted from Gov. India 2001d)

As Table 4 shows, Hindi accounts for 41% of speakers. It is thus classed as a 'large minority' language, but not a national one (Manor 1996, 465). The dominance of the various Indian languages has changed over time. While Hindi occupies the most central position and covers a much larger area than any other language, the modern form of literary Hindi actually only developed at the end of the 18th century (Burrow 1997, 167). Even today, a great many Indians actually speak a mixture of Hindi and Urdu, known as Hindustani, which is not captured by the categories of the census:

> There is, besides High Hindī and High Urdū, a large indeterminate zone where the common speech is an unpretentious middle path between the two known as Hindūstānī. This was the speech that Mahātmā Gandhī cherished as the *lingua franca* of modern India, hoping it would be accepted as a common heritage by Hindus and Muslims alike… the position continues to remain so fluid that the 1961 Census was unable to compile separate statistics for it, a large number of persons describing their language as Hindī-Hindūstānī, Urdū-Hindūstānī, or some other permutation.
>
> *(Kripalani 1997, 406–7)*

Sanskrit arrived in India in the early second millennium BCE (Pollock 2006, 39), and became the first written language when it was recorded at the Maurya chancery in around 260 BCE (Pollock 2006, 81), and it continued in dominance until Prakrit split off as the vernacular language and Sanskrit stopped evolving (Burrow 1997, 162). Urdu then became the lingua franca in the north during the sultanates, and became a literary language under the Mughals (Basham 1975, 4). During colonial rule English then took on an important role in Indian nation building by establishing itself evenly throughout the country in a way that no other language had managed to do beforehand (Kripalani 1997, 408).

### 1.3.6 Gender

Gender is of course a major component of Indian identity, and unfortunately an aspect that this thesis does not consider in sufficient depth. This is partly due to the subaltern status of women in India and its history (Misir 2018, 6), and the enormous amount of material on gender identity in general (Butler 2006, 2), which would expand the theoretical scope of this thesis but have little to add to the analysis of its fieldwork. Nonetheless it is a significant gap which must be acknowledged.

## 1.4 Concepts of time and history

Field researchers very often have very different conceptions of time from those of their subjects (Fabian 2014, 21), and as identity is by its nature 'spread across time' (Thomas 1999, 30) it is therefore important to understand these conceptions when trying to understand it. In the end it can be argued that no one can claim absolute objectivity on the subject of time as its true nature is unknown, even within the fields of physics, mathematics, psychology and philosophy, and it is perhaps ultimately unknowable due to our position in the physical universe (Grondin 2003, 1; Fagg 1985, 164), or at least to get close one must 'double back' and take the lens of human consciousness into account (Sanfey 2003, 105). Paradoxically given its focus on the past, archaeology has made even less of a contribution to time theory than the aforementioned fields, and "it is as if we witness the passing of history as a trajectory without grasping what had driven that trajectory forward" (Barrett 2004, 15). In India in particular it is important to try to avoid 'temporal colonialism' and instead realise that there are many ways of perceiving time that must be taken seriously and which contain valuable information about the philosophies, paradigms and societies of the holders whom we seek to understand.

Developing over time and out of historical circumstances, personal, community and national identities are heavily dependent on individuals' understandings of their own histories, and of how they conceptualise these in time. The way in which someone conceives of the past, present and future very much determines the salience and use of the past in their social and political lives, as described by Thapar:

> "The implication of the past as present requires recognition of the integration of the one with the other, but also the distinctive difference in the societies of earlier times and of our times. Cultural sensitivity lies in tracing the integration, but also in being aware of the discontinuities. Only then can the present seek legitimacy from the past."
>
> *(Thapar 2014, 654)*

The following will briefly outline Hindu, Buddhist, Islamic and tribal perspectives of time, excluding others that are outside the main focus of this research due to the sites chosen, as well as some biological considerations.

### 1.4.1 Biological perspectives

Before describing the various cultural perspectives, it is useful to briefly survey the current understanding of how we perceive time biologically. While work in this area is still somewhat in its infancy, it can already be seen that there is also a fundamental biological

link between time sense and identity, with clinical studies for example having shown that a neurological ability to maintain a sense of time is required in order to sustain a cohesive self-identity (Melges 1990, 265). It is also known that we process temporal and spatial information in very different ways, so we need to be careful when relating memories of time and space (Bachelard 1964, 7). A person's neuropsychological state can also influence time perception. Anxiety for example has been found to focus more attention on the present, with elevated levels leading to a marked avoidance of the past and future (Ruiz et al. 1968, 72).

Our perception of time also develops as we age (Friedman 1992, 9–10), shifting from a subjective to an objective sense from childhood to adulthood (Eisler 2003, 6) only at which point can it be considered mature (Levin 1992, 23). This developmental path is thought to vary with culture, and it has therefore been recommended that schools pay particular attention to how children in different contexts understand time (Dempsey 1971, 119–120). This point was important for the design and interpretation of the surveys for this thesis.

### 1.4.2 Hindu perspectives

Time is a key feature of modern Hindu religion and philosophy, for example when Krishna himself states in the *Bhagavad-Gita* that:

> "I am Time… I am the beginning, the middle, and the end of creations..."
>
> *(Bhagavad-Gita verses 30, 32 in: Miller 2004, 35)*

The most famous and accessible document on Hindu time perception for Western scholars was the *Manusmṛti,* or *Laws of Manu,* one of the first Hindu texts to be translated to English during the colonial administration for the purpose of codifying Hindu laws (Davis 2010, 13). Here the world is divided into four *yugas,* or ages of the world, which together total 4.32 billion human years, with the current age, *Kali*, being the most degenerate and after which the cycle will begin again (Trautmann, T.R. 1995, 169–171), and this cyclic time conception is unique in the world for the degree to which it permeates modern culture (Rocher 2004, 91).

Overdependence on a few texts such as the *Manusmṛti* led to a strong tendency to both simplify Hindu time perception and to view it as universal in India. Prominent early authorities who wrote on India such as Mill, Hegel and Marx also noted the lack of complete serial histories and claimed that Indians were therefore essentially ahistorical (Mill 1817, 107; Hegel 1845, 147; Marx 1853). This became the accepted view until the late 20th

century, often backed by a belief that all Indian perceptions of time were cyclical, as exemplified by Trautmann:

> "… it is plain that we are dealing with variants of a single pattern, a unitary Indian intellectual culture of time. Its tendency is to multiply cycles of world ages without limit, to make of time eternity."
>
> *(Trautmann, T.R. 1995, 171)*

India did produce its own histories however and possesses not only a range of perceptions of time, but also many which are non-cyclical. These histories have a different cultural form to those of the West, but nonetheless include a clear consciousness of the past (Thapar 2013, 47–49), and many of these only became accessible to Western scholars during the second half of the 20th century (Witzel 1990, 39). A very clear historical tradition can now be traced from royal eulogies recorded in the *Rigveda*, with historical narrative becoming more formalised by around 400 BCE, and royal historical biographies being laid down in the early Medieval period (Pathak 1966, 3–29). Within this tradition, non-cyclic 'linear arcs' are frequent, with linear genealogies found in the early *puranas* and linear histories based on regnal years dating back to the first edict of Asoka in the 3rd century BCE (Thapar 1996, 8–32). The lack of complete indigenous histories of India can now be seen as being due to 'accidents of medieval history' due to its local dynastic nature and the sheer size of the subcontinent (Witzel 1990, 40–41). Rather than being a defect seen from a Western perspective in fact, this manner of historical recording has the advantage of providing extraordinary detail with regard to localised events and their contemporary contexts throughout history (Pathak 1966, 148).

### 1.4.3 Buddhist perspectives

Indian Buddhist perceptions of time both overlap and differ from those of Hindu culture in several ways, and also incorporate a degree of contradiction. Buddhists have their own independent system of cyclical time, into which they have incorporated the Hindu *yuga* system as an additional element (Rocher 2004, 97). Due to the historical person of the Buddha and a structure built around the dates of his life, Buddhist chronicles tend to have a stronger focus on time and dates (Thapar 1996, 34). The conscious decision by Gautama Buddha to record his scriptures in vernaculars, also opened up Buddhist thought and history to the wider populace and enabled its remarkable growth (Butler et al. 2007, 98–99), largely redefining the idea of for whom history was written.

Linear time is central to Buddhism in that all things are seen as impermanent with a linear progression inclusive of birth, duration, old age, change in condition and disappearance

or cessation (Bareau 1991, 1), although duration is seen as incalculable and therefore not to be expressed numerically (Rocher 2004, 97). Key Buddhist texts such as the *Milind-Pañña* record clearly the concepts of past, present and future and emphasise the continuity of time (Keith 1991, 299–300). While modern Buddhists have no problem with these concepts, they nonetheless tend to the view that these are mental constructions only, and that too much focus on any distinction from the present moment is not conducive to advancing on the path to enlightenment (Inada 1991, 470–471).

Intriguingly, the *Milind-Pañña* also includes the concept that some events in the past can cease to have been, as they no longer produce an effect in the present, whereby the present effectively influences the very existence of the past (Fagg 1985, 90). While outside the reach of this thesis, research into Buddhist approaches to archaeology in light of this belief would be particularly interesting.

### 1.4.4 Islamic perspectives

Indian Muslims' perception of time and history are surprisingly left out of many texts which aim to be comprehensive works on Islamic time and history (e.g. Raudvere 2017), or seen as too separate to have much in common with those of other Indian identities (e.g. Rocher 2004, 92), which makes a clear comparison with Hinduism and Buddhism difficult. Islam certainly exhibits yet another set of traditional time perceptions, most fundamentally in that it considers time, despite the way we experience it, to be made up of instants only, without any duration (Massignon 1958, 108). Islam nonetheless has a strong sense of history, based around its own calendar, which was introduced largely for political reasons and had the effect of divorcing pagan believers from their seasonal rituals. It was eventually brought into line with the solar cycle, but the original intentions of the calendar are important to note, as Islam was:

> "… forcefully conscious of shaping its own temporal framework through the calendar as it began a new and ultimate era of human history."
>
> *(Böwering 1997, 65)*

### 1.4.5 Subaltern perspectives

Generally in fact, illiterate and pre-print societies often have well developed and trained techniques of memory (Yates 1999, xi), but very little to no research has concentrated on their specific perceptions of time and history. Subaltern people naturally do perceive time of long duration however, as expressed by the dalit leader who defended tribal rights on

the basis that "for thousands of years, we dalits have been cheated time and again" (Baviskar 1997, 218).

In line with the reports of how people struggling with anxiety focus more attention on the present, the stressful aspects of the subaltern situation and pasts can have a similar effect, with the deliberate avoidance of painful memories (Legg 2007, 462), especially those on the magnitude of Partition (Kaul 2002, 3).

The question of whether the subaltern past is 'true' or not can be blurred, as the strength of the facts that make up a perceived history may not be the same as those that we aspire to for Western history, with some dalit traditions for example described as a '"mechanical" retention of the past', where "memory here is made up of sediment upon sediment of hearsay, but it is hearsay taken as true fact" (Wakankar 2010, 25). While the philosophical or religious basis of subaltern understanding of time has not been studied, it is of course naturally likely to be influenced by the immediate circumstances of the subaltern. Wakankar for example has further written that dalit conceptions of time are fraught with dread, as "… the idea that the universe works according to karma (physis) provides a cosmogonic justification for the iniquities of caste" (Wakankar 2010, 131). Tribal groups have often suffered dispossession to a lesser degree and typically still have access to land, in comparison to the majority of dalits, and therefore also have a stronger sense of history tied to a spatial dimension (Baviskar 2005, 5109).

John Stuart Mill drew a clear line in the sand when he reported that "...there is no single act done in India, the whole of the reasons for which are not placed on record" (Mill 1990, 33 [1852]), effectively stating that only the colonial written record had validity. From this point on subaltern histories were recorded almost exclusively by the colonial and then the indigenous Indian elites (Guha 1988a, 37; Morton 2003, 50), which seek to 'fossilize' them, while 'erasing contemporary realities of exploitation and domination' (Alonso 1994, 398).

In addition to not having been permitted to contribute to that record, it can also be claimed that due to their status, the subaltern are neither reasonably able to think of, nor to produce coherent histories, as Pandey has written:

> "… certainty of knowledge, the clarity of History, and the consistency of ideological 'truth', are sometimes costly luxuries in conditions like these. The well-ordered, disciplined, unified script (or voice) can be a foolish ambition, if not an impossibility."
>
> *(Pandey 1995, 231)*

Essentially therefore, the actions of the subaltern arise from ‘pure spontaneity’ rather than being informed by historical awareness (Dhanagare 1988, 26). The subaltern may also regard comprehensive historical narratives as a form of elite domination, and instead prefer to focus on “an infinite series of micro-narratives, micro-moments and micro-managements” (Pocock 1998, 232).

While there is certainly an element of truth in this, it cannot be correct to fully deny these autonomous elements of history to all subaltern groups in all forms of existence, which would be to make difference a condition for its very possibility (Gyan Prakash 1992, 184), "... to petrify this aspect of the historical process, to reduce it to an immobility, indeed to destroy its history” (Chatterjee 1983, 59), and to naively see any actions they take as purely reactions to the elite (Baviskar 2005, 5109).

While it can also be claimed that the subaltern voice is not recorded anywhere (e.g. Guha 1988b, 47) as the subaltern by definition cannot speak due to their total exclusion by the elites (Spivak 1988, 308), this does not necessarily reflect the real world where nothing is ever so clear cut. In the end the state cannot fully control how they are represented (Bhabha 2004, 151; Sant 2017, 118), and it is possible to interpret the parts of histories that are largely mediated or censored by others and to view all actions of a community as being communicative (Maggio 2007, 419).

Gramsci wrote that the recorded history of subaltern groups is "necessarily fragmented and episodic... Every trace of independent initiative on the part of subaltern groups should therefore be of incalculable value for the integral historian …” (Gramsci 1971, 54–55). The fragments that have survived include court records, newspaper accounts, civil servants' letters and reports (Pandey 1995, 225), and petitions to the government by the poor and sick (Guha 2010). The point is that these snapshots were all taken from the elite perspective of the recorder, not the subject, and are therefore not actually the subaltern’s own histories.

Where the subaltern do have access to historical works however, they naturally relate to them similarly to other groups. An example of this are the Neterhat Asur tribe of Bihar, who claim ancestry from the Asuras mentioned in the Puranas and point to 105 references to them in the *Ramayana,* especially those which describe them as great architects and sculptors (Raghavaiah 1969, 12).

Essentially we produce the subaltern when we write them into the elite history of the orient or elsewhere (Said 2003, 6) and this needs to be framed as objectively as possible, without

claiming to speak for the subaltern. This includes those who might be termed ‘native informants’, who typically occupy positions of academic power and claim speak to a Western audience based on a degree of shared ethnicity with the subaltern, but nonetheless are not truly qualified to do so (Spivak 1999, 310).

Forms of subaltern historical consciousness may also emerge in longer documentary form, including film and television (Gairola 2002, 315). For example a film about a Narmada river anti-dam campaign includes a Bhilala tribal spokesman called Khajan who makes a public claim about the antiquity of his people's history:

> "God made the earth and the forest; then He made us, adivasis, to live upon the earth. Ever since we have come out of our mother's womb, we have lived here. Generation upon generation of our ancestors lived and died here.... Governments and politicians come and go but we have never changed; we have been here from the beginning.”
>
> *(Baviskar 2005, 5109)*

Another example is a book titled *Chhere asha gram* (Basu 1975), which comprises the detailed memories and historical accounts of Bengalis who had been displaced under partition and effectively become subaltern. Their stories had been published in a Bengali newspaper, *Jugantar,* from 1950-1975, and the effort of collective forgetting of partition in the official version of Indian history is exemplified in the fact that their names, ages and genders were not included in the book (Chakrabarty 2002, 116). Due to their inclusion in the media of the opposing, elite group however, both of the preceding examples are naturally to an extent examples of ‘positioning’ by presenting idealized relationships for the purpose of advocacy (Baviskar 2005, 5110), something many subaltern leaders are not comfortable with (Baviskar 1997, 217).

Art is a less mediated form of subaltern expression that can also convey historical knowledge, and which continually renews the past in an ‘in-between space’ (Bhabha 2004, 7). An example of this is the exposure of historical consciousness in the works of dalit poets such as Kabir, whose songs have been performed over the past 500 years in northern India (Wakankar 2010, 133), effectively only among the dalits and therefore of “‘pure' dalit subjectivity” (Wakankar 2010, 6). The dalit conception of history is often presented as one of ‘immediacy’, but Wakankar shows how the iterative changes made by successive scribes of Kabir’s work over this period record the progressive political contexts of their times (Wakankar 2010, vii).

While the precision of written history may be a luxury for the subaltern, historic memory may also be characterised by forms of ‘illegitimate writing’ such as rumour, which are both

anonymous and transitive (Spivak 2006, 213), and which represent a '"mechanical" retention of the past': "Memory here is made up of sediment upon sediment of hearsay, but it is hearsay taken as true fact" (Wakankar 2010, 25).

As will be seen from the above, we don't know enough about specific subaltern communities, including those surveyed in this research, to say exactly how they perceive time and history. There is ample evidence however that they can have very different perceptions to those of the other communities. Where relevant this will be taken into account when interpreting the results of the surveys in later chapters.

## 1.5 An historical analysis of Indian identity over time

Indian history is of 'amazing cultural continuity' (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, ix). But while India possesses many written records from the arrival of the Aryans in the second millennium BCE onwards, there are no actual written histories from before the 13th century, leaving us with historical coverage of only 20% of actual attestable Indian history (Keay 2010, xvii). Analysis of the Indian past is therefore in some ways more multifaceted than that of other countries, requiring the input of many disciplines, including archaeology, anthropology, sociology and psychology, as summarised by Kakar:

> In an ancient country like India, where collective memories reach back thousands of years, cultural psychology can never be as ahistorical as it may be in a young country like the United States. Cultural psychology in India must necessarily include the study of psychic representations of collective pasts, the way collective memories are transmitted through generations, and the ways the past is used as a receptacle for projections from the present.
>
> *(Kakar 1996, 205)*

The following sections trace known facets of Indian identity from pre-colonial to post-independence and the current day. Many themes run through it, but one of the most salient is religion – "…indeed it is true that religious strife is as Indian as mango pickle" (Kakar 1996, 210).

### 1.5.1 Prehistoric India

Evidence is beginning to accumulate that the Indian Palaeolithic was highly culturally diverse and involved multiple migrations of various hominin forms (Akhilesh et al. 2018, 100), and recent genetic research is coming to the conclusion that the majority of Indian biological heritage stems from that period (Danino 2016, 219). Large-scale civilizations such as the Harappan and Ahar cultures also developed out of the Neolithic and flourished

from around 7500 BCE to 2,000 BCE in North-Western India (Shinde 2016, 128; Raczek 2016, 234). These cultures seem to have deurbanized and been peacefully assimilated by the others around them (Possehl 1997, 462), and it is therefore reasonable to assume that they contributed in a multitude of ways to the development and diversity of modern Indian culture, though there is no evidence linking them in any substantial way to any particular modern group or culture.

These prehistoric cultures and the Harappan in particular, are nonetheless salient for modern Indian identities. Hindu nationalist archaeologists for example, have attempted to show that Hindu culture developed out of the Harappan (e.g. Lal 2002), in order to establish greater claims to antiquity than rival communal groups. Another attempt to establish antiquity, separation and superiority over non-Hindu groups is the 'Aryan invasion' theory that originated with Max Müller and posited a prehistoric mass-migration into India of Indo-Aryan speakers who became today's Hindus (Müller 1883, 95), but has since been discredited by biological studies (Danino 2016, 214).

Communal advocates also tend to project a homogenous version of identity back into the past in order to meet their present day political needs (Thapar 1989, 210), as in the case of right-wing Hinduism. Many assertions that are held to be inviolably true of Hinduism today for example are known to have in fact changed drastically over time, such as the fact that Brahmins ate beef and drank alcohol during the Vedic period (Srinivas 1969, 24). In fact 'Hinduism' itself was not a strong concept at all during the pre-medieval periods, instead forming from conflicting contemporary forms such as Brahmanism and Sramanism (Thapar 1989, 211), and being constituted more homogenously over time only due to increasing contact with more absolute forms of the Other, such as Islam and Christianity (Kakar 1996, 28).

In the same way a specific Dravidian identity coalesced only around the beginning of the 20$^{th}$ century CE, when linguistic studies showed the similarity between Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam and Kannada (Alavi 2002, 4519), and groups such as the Tamils began to promote the concept and identity of a 'Dravidian South' and an 'Aryan North' to differentiate themselves and counter Brahmin dominance (Pandian 1998, 552).

### 1.5.2 Medieval and pre-colonial India

Hindus and Muslims in medieval India lived mixed but separate lives where they "… were more than strangers, not often enemies, but less than friends" (Kakar 1996, 203). During this period a 'reverse-Sanskritization' was apparent. Non-Muslim peasants were on the

fringes of society, and some therefore sought to advance their positions by converting to Islam:

> With regard to conversion to Islam the Hindus often say, 'A Hindu Untouchable of yesterday becomes a Muslim to-day; and to-morrow he will start proclaiming that his forefathers lived in Arabia!'
>
> *(Dube 1967, 187)*

Even native-born Indian Muslims felt the need to lay claim to previously unknown Persian or Turkish ancestry (Kakar 1996, 200).

Most governments during this period were only nominally religious and deviance from the prevailing religion was largely tolerated as long as relations of subordination were maintained (Gaborieau 1985, 10). Nevertheless, communal riots were still common under both the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire. According to Bayly (1985, 181–4) communal conflicts occurred during the 18$^{th}$-mid-19$^{th}$ centuries due to a range of factors:

1. Occasional strengthening of religious controls
2. Establishing sovereignty over holy places (but not stopping worship by other groups)
3. Economic/social conflict (e.g. the Hindu/Sikh/Muslim 'land wars')
4. Urban religious strife (over festival clashes, beef eating, disputed temples etc.)

Bayly stresses that religious factors were seldom enough to bring about full communal conflict by themselves, unless they occurred in parallel to shifts in political and economic power (Bayly 1985, 203). In many cases however religious conflict was highly systematized, and what Garborieau calls 'ritual provocations' such as cow killing were enough to cause days of rioting (Gaborieau 1985, 9).

### 1.5.3 Colonial India

The British Raj made sweeping changes to the way India was administered, affecting all sections of Indian society, and the relationships between them:

> It influenced Indian life through many channels: administration, legislation, trade, the creation of a network of communications, inchoative industrialization and urbanization, all had great influence not only on the many Indians who became directly involved in them, but also on society as a whole, because every measure in some way interfered with some traditional patterns of life.
>
> *(Jordens 1997, 365)*

It also brought about change in the national consciousness of elite Indians, leading to social reform, nationalist ideology, and eventually to partition and independence.

Among the most important effects of British rule, the *varṇa* model of caste seems to have become more consolidated. Srinivas (1969, 6) lists the major factors in this as being:

1. The attaching of Brahmin Pandits to British law courts
2. Attempts by westernized lawyers in all towns to apply Brahmanical law to all Hindus
3. The translation of vast amounts of Sanskrit literature (almost all written by Brahmins) to English
4. The rise of caste *sabhas* (councils) that tried to improved their caste's circumstances through Sanskritization
5. Anti-Brahmin movements that to some extent backfired and instead consolidated Brahmin privilege.

The introduction of British law and courts throughout the territory ended a large degree of local autonomy that had been allowed to persist until this time (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 369), and was one example of a 'one size fits all' approach to governing that had many negative consequences. The perceived arrogance of the British rulers was also resented:

> India was commonly regarded as a conquered country and its people as a subject race. Here again a common evil provoked a common resistance; the Brahmin and the Sudra felt a common grievance and were drawn together for its redress in a way which would never have happened otherwise.
>
> *(Spear 1951, 306)*

The Indian Mutiny of 1857 was stoked in part by the government allowing missionary conversions to Christianity (Srinivas 1969, 80), as well as unfair assessment of land for taxation, and aggressive annexation of princely states (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 257–8). Almost losing control of the territory, the British largely abandoned institutional reform and interference in religious matters from this point onwards (Srinivas 1969, 82).

Despite being known for a clinical 'divide and rule' strategy, many of the actions of the British betrayed the fact that they did not understand the subtleties of the society they were ruling. Their egalitarian approach to castes angered the higher Hindu castes and the Muslim upper classes for example, while a failure to include educated Indians in higher administrative roles also caused resentment (Srinivas 1969, 85). A result of many of these policies was that India became 'more self-consciously religious' under colonial rule (Gaborieau 1985, 10), and at this point the word 'Hindu' began to take on its narrower,

more exclusionary meaning, no longer including Muslims and others (Pandey 1993, 245). This critical strengthening of narrower identities partly came from the British administrative need to classify everything:

> By their education, legislation, administration, judicial codes and procedures and even by that apparently simple operation of 'objective' classification, the census, the British unwittingly imposed dualistic 'either-or' oppositions as the 'natural' normative order of thought. In a multitude of ways, Indians learned that one is either this or that; that one cannot be both or neither or indifferent. The significance of identity thus became a new, paramount concern… an orthodoxy of being was gradually replacing a heterodoxy of beings."
>
> *(Miller 1991, 169)*

It was for example neither well understood by the designers of the India census that caste is dynamic (Bhagat 2006, 122), nor that it could be used to claim and consolidate positions within the system. This lack of understanding is exemplified in the 1931 census report:

> It has been alleged that the mere act of labelling persons as belonging to a caste tends to perpetuate the system, and on this excuse a campaign against any record of caste was attempted in 1931 by those who objected to any such returns being made. It is, however, difficult to see why the record of a fact that actually exists should tend to stabilize that existence.
>
> *(Hutton 1933, 430)*

But many communities learned that they could accelerate the process of sanskritization for themselves by claiming higher castes for themselves, on the government record. Just one page later the census report seems oblivious to the fact that the actual behaviour of census respondents is contradicting its earlier statement:

> … in some cases a caste which had applied in one province to be called Brahman asked in another to be called Rajput and there are several instances at this census of castes claiming to be Brahman who claimed to be Rajput ten years ago. Of course this movement for consolidation with a new designation implying a high social origin is partially to be ascribed to a very proper desire to rise in the social estimation of other people. It is also attributable in some cases to a desire for the backing of a large community in order to count for more in political life.
>
> *(Hutton 1933, 431)*

The category of caste was eventually completely removed from the 1941 census as it became clear that it was no longer close to accurate (Srinivas 1969, 96).

As an alternative to sanskritization some lower castes also converted to Christianity under the British, but this was not widespread, and does not seem to have conveyed much advantage in terms of favouritism within the colonial system (Srinivas 1969, 60).

While all of Indian society was being forced to revaluate their position, the educated Indian elite in particular were undergoing profound changes. This is what Srinivas (1969, 46) has termed 'Westernization', essentially an adoption of the colonial viewpoint, "the internalisation of perceptions of the 'other' about the 'self'" (Vatsyayan 2005, 42). On one side this led to challenges to the orientation and identity of members of the elite:

> The continuous perception of the contrast between themselves and their rulers produced a feeling of inferiority among many educated Indians, a feeling which took a variety of expressions and postures from open self-abasement to bitter denunciation of everything Western. Xenophilia, paleocentrism, and communism, and the extreme idealization of Indian life and culture coupled with a crude caricaturing of Western life and culture, were among the varied reactions of educated Indians to the West, and the same individual often shifted from one posture to the other.
>
> *(Srinivas 1969, 79)*

The elite were also growing and becoming more socially mobile due to a range of factors such as equality under the law and improved access to education and printed information. In particular castes that were associated with modernising colonial rule were elevated into the elite for the first time, for example those specialised as writers, government officials, traders and soldiers (Srinivas 1969, 70).

This new elite was influenced by colonial social reform, which was often secular and equalitarian in nature, for example including the abolition of *sati* (widow-burning) in 1829 (Mani 1987, 119), *thagi* (highway killing) in 1836 (Singha 1993, 84), female infanticide in 1795 and 1870 (Sen 2002, 53–55), slavery in 1843 (Cassels 1988, 59), religious prostitution in 1861 (Kannabiran 1995, 59), and child marriage in 1929 (Gulati 1976, 1225).

This resulted in a strong indigenous modernization movement, exemplified in the anti-*sati* campaigns of nationalist reformer Rammohun Roy (Mani 1987, 120), and for widow inheritance and remarriage rights by Vidyasagar (Hatcher 2013). Two significant reservation movements also appeared. The Backward Classes movement sought to limit the dominance of Brahmin in government positions by reserving posts for lower castes, especially in anticipation of an independent state. The first success came for the movement in Tamil Nadu, with the Government Order of 1927 (Mathur 2004, 17).

The 1935 Government of India Act introduced the concept of 'scheduled castes' into the law for the first time, defining them as follows:

> "the scheduled castes" means such castes, races or tribes or parts of or groups within castes, races or tribes, being castes, races, tribes, parts or groups which appear to His Majesty in Council to correspond to the classes of

> persons formerly known as "the depressed classes", as His Majesty in Council may specify.
>
> *(Parliament of the United Kingdom 1935, sch. 1, art. 26)*

While it completely mixed up the terms caste, race, tribe and class, the act nonetheless clearly aimed to help the lower castes, untouchables and tribes through reserved seats in the Council of State for each province (Parliament of the United Kingdom 1935, sch. 1, art. 4), and guaranteed inclusion on the electoral roll (Parliament of the United Kingdom 1935, sch. 6, art. 8).

Despite these important initial moves to improve the situation of the lower levels of Indian society, communal conflicts continued under colonial rule (Bayly 1985, 202), and increased significantly in frequency due to the social change that came with it (Gaborieau 1985, 8). These rising tensions, particularly between the Hindu and Muslim communities, along with the rise of nationalism within both, eventually led to the end of British rule and partition.

The first move towards independence came when the Indian National Congress voted for *swaraj* (self-rule) in 1907 (Goswami 1998, 624). The concept of an independent India as a Hindu nation was first articulated in the 1920s, by the nationalist Swami Shraddhanand, in the context of increasing conflict between Hindus and Muslims (Pandey 1993, 242). The Muslim League was then founded in 1915 and set partition as their goal in 1940 (Banerjee 1998, 197).

Partition took place following independence on August 15 1947 and is without question one of the greatest humanitarian catastrophes ever. The mass-migration of 10-12 million Hindus and Muslims is regarded to have been the largest migration of its kind in the world (Brass 2003, 75). Estimates of the number of deaths from the ensuing violence and ethnic cleansing range from 200-360,000 (Brass 2003, 75) to “possibly as many as a million” (Keay 2010, 509), with the lower figures likely to be more realistic.

A case can be made that that violence of partition was the inevitable result of long-standing Hindu-Muslim antagonism (e.g. Gaborieau 1985), but it was also very much a consequence of a series of ‘deliberate actions and failures’ on the part of the British authorities, Indian National Congress and the Muslim League (Brass 2003, 76). An example of this was when the Muslim League called for a day of ‘direct action’ ahead of elections in Bengal in 1946, which resulting in riots known as ‘the Great Calcutta Killing’, in which around 4,000 people died and a further 100,000 were made homeless (Talbot et al. 2009, xvi).

### 1.5.4 Post-independence India

South Asia has never fully come to terms with the events and consequences of partition (Brass 2003, 75), and the psychological impact of the division of India is still felt greatly (Kakar 1996, 227). Despite this, the India that emerged in the mid-20th century had a feeling of great potential about it, described as

> … a still traditional society in the throes and the creative excitement of modernizing itself, of emerging as a new nation, remaining thoroughly its own and rooted in its culture, yet taking its place in the contemporary world.
>
> *(Jordens 1997, 365)*

One of the most significant steps taken by the new country was to include protective discrimination into the constitution. The importance of this was described by Srinivas:

> Independent India is forced, in the interests of her survival, to commit herself to a policy of quick elimination of traditional and hereditary inequalities, and in particular, of Untouchability.
>
> *(Srinivas 1969, 87)*

The principles of the 1935 Government of India Act were therefore adopted by the new Constitution of India, and significantly extended. The Constitution contains provisions for determining the scheduled castes (Gov. India 2012b, art. 341), essentially the untouchable castes or *dalits* (Dushkin 1967, 627) and scheduled tribes (Gov. India 2012b, art. 342) of each state and union territory. It then provides for the reservation of seats for scheduled castes and tribes in the national parliament (Gov. India 2012b, art. 330) and the state legislative assemblies (Gov. India 2012b, art. 332), which are to expire 70 years from the commencement of the constitution (Gov. India 2012b, art. 334). It is also stipulated that places will be reserved for government jobs at national and state levels (Gov. India 2012b, art. 335), and establishes national commissions for scheduled castes (Gov. India 2012b, art. 338) and scheduled tribes. (Gov. India 2012b, art. 338A), whose job is to ensure that their rights are safeguarded under the constitution. Finally, there is a requirement to appoint a commission to investigate the conditions of backward classes (Gov. India 2012b, art. 340), which essentially refers to disadvantaged peasant castes which do not qualify for scheduled status because they are not untouchable (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 344).

The 1950 Constitution (Scheduled Castes) Order lists 1,110 scheduled castes within 24 territories (Gov. India 1950b), and also defines who can and cannot be a scheduled caste:

> ... no person who professes a religion different from the Hindu [the Sikh or the Buddhist] religion shall be deemed to be a member of a Scheduled Caste.
>
> *(Gov. India 1950b, art. 3)*

Interestingly, the amendment act of 1956 then removed Buddhism from the definition of Hindu religion (Gov. India 1956, sch. 1, art. 1).

The 1950 Constitution (Scheduled Tribes) Order lists 774 tribes in 26 territories (Gov. India 1950c). The current (2011 census) population of scheduled castes and tribes is given in Table 5.

| | Total individuals | Proportion of population |
|---|---|---|
| **Scheduled Castes** | 201,378,372 | 16.6% |
| **Scheduled Tribes** | 104,545,716 | 8.6% |

Table 5: Scheduled castes and scheduled tribes as a proportion of the Indian population in the 2011 Census (derived from (Gov. India 2011h) and (Gov. India 2011i).

Reservation applying to all those of deprived or backward classes had existed in India for some time in isolated local instances, as early as 1831 in Tamil Nadu and in Mysore State, Travancore, Kochi and Kolhapur in the early 20th century (Chishti 2015), but the constitution now called for it to be considered for all of India.

This was first investigated under the Kaka Kalelkar Commission from 1953-1955. The report identified 2,399 backward castes (plus all women), with 837 defined as 'most backward', and recommended reserving 70% of places for them in education and up to 40% in government (Dandekar 1991, 348). The government rejected the recommendations however, as it felt the commission had not been objective enough in qualifying backward classes, and therefore had identified too many (Yadav 2002, 4495).

The Kalelkar Commission's work was resurrected by the Mandal Commission in 1979-80, which this time took care to very systematically qualify the backward classes (Gov. India 1980, 12–13), and recommended a comprehensive strategy to assist them comprising reservation, educational concessions, financial assistance, structural changes and central assistance (Gov. India 1980, 58). The impact of this commission is highly significant, and its consequences have shaped Indian politics and society ever since.

Improving the situation of India's backward classes was seen as being fundamental in the move towards an egalitarian society, and this was deeply connected to the identity of those being aided:

> … we must recognise that an essential part of the battle against social backwardness is to be fought in the minds of the backward people. In India Government service has always been looked upon as a symbol of prestige and power. By increasing the representation of OBCs in Government services, we give them an immediate feeling of participation in the governance of this country… the psychological spin off of this phenomenon is tremendous; the entire community of that backward class… feels socially elevated. *Report of the Backward Classes Commission*
>
> *(Gov. India 1980, 57)*

Even more fundamentally, if we accept the contentions of Althusser, Lacan and Derrida that identity is formed through recognition that one is a subject, absorbing the identity projected onto oneself from the Other, the very fact that the issue of the backward classes was being addressed at this level was critical. Essentially half of the Indian population was being given agency and the right to strengthen and assert its identity. This was explained in an interview by P. S. Krishnan, the Secretary of the Welfare Ministry who signed the Mandal notification:

> It is important to know that in India a social system existed that sought to see vast number of people as lowly, inferior and backward. But for the debate that followed Mandal, stone-cutters, fishermen, boatmen… so many people who do such important tasks with their hands, would have existed unrecognised or unnamed.
>
> *(Express News Service 2015)*

The Mandal report was presented to the Congress party government of Indira Gandhi in 1980, but not acted upon, and also not in the subsequent administration of Rajiv Gandhi. Eventually the Janata Dal government of V. P. Singh decided to accept the Commission's report on August 7th, 1990 (Express News Service 2015). Of the Commission's wide-ranging recommendations, only those related to reservation were taken up however (Gill 2003). Nevertheless, this was sufficient to cause enormous political change and turmoil over the next decade:

> The logic of numbers suddenly brought OBC leaders into prominence and every political party turned a votary of Mandal. Never before had the Indian political scene undergone the sort of sea change it did during the decade following the implementation of the Mandal report.
>
> *(Gill 2003)*

The sudden importance of the Backward Classes to the existing parties has meant that they have aimed to continue the system in perpetuity in order to win electoral favour. Reservation was supposed to be for 10 years only for example, but this has been extended consistently ahead of elections (Express News Service 2015), and while the number of

qualifying backward classes might have been expected to reduce with the decline in poverty over time, the reverse has actually happened, once again with new communities invariably being added directly before elections (Gill 2003).

The political impact has been ideological as well as opportunistic. Following the government's acceptance of the report there was mass unrest, and by the end of September an estimated 159 young upper caste Hindus had attempted suicide by self-immolation, 63 successfully, and a further 100 had been killed in clashes with police during protests (Dirks 2001, 275). This unrest certainly reflected the desperation felt by many higher caste Hindus about the difficulty of finding placements in education and government. It was also very effectively stirred up by activists however, and not entirely reflective of how people felt. As an example, in a recent interview Atul Aggarwal, who was one of those who set himself on fire but survived, has said that "It was certainly not agitation against reservation… it had something to do with child psychology" (Akbar 2015).

The political and religious right in particular quickly sought to take advantage of the situation, and to adapt it to building their own national identity:

> Once caste started to be used as the basis for denying rather than conferring social privilege, Hindu nationalists captured ground by calling for a notion of religious community to replace one of caste.
>
> *(Dirks 2001, 7)*

The BJP in particular saw the implementation of Mandal as a "serious threat to its 'upper' caste constituency", and sought to divert the energy of the outcry into its campaign to demolish the Babri Masjid in Ayodhya (Gill 2003), which will be described in more detail in chapter two.

These moves towards establishing a pan-Indian national identity took place on all sides of politics. Such an identity was more easily forged following colonialism, as it could now be consistently shaped in relation to the Other:

> The anti-colonial project of self-recovery through reinterpretation and reconstruction of tradition was integral to the consolidation of a pan-Indian identity.
>
> *(Ganesh 2005, 15)*

Nonetheless, the concept of India as a single territory goes back possibly as far as the 3rd century BC with the Maurya Empire (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 61). Since then, many other kingdoms and empires have occupied a parts of the same area, including the Chalukyas, the Vijayanagara Empire, the Delhi Sultanate and the Mughal Empire. Despite

being territorially unified under the British, the Government of India Act 1935 created separate electorates based on religion, creating the conditions for the rise of sectarian nationalism, a policy that has been aptly described as “divide and leave” (Thakur 1993).

The India that emerged from partition fits Kymlicka’s terminology of a “multination state” made up of “national minorities”, which he defines as "… the coexistence within a given state of more than one nation, where 'nation' means a historical community, more or less institutionally complete, occupying a given territory or homeland, sharing a distinct language and culture" (Kymlicka 1995, 11). As Kymlicka points out, such states can only survive if each national minority both has an allegiance to the greater political community of the multination state, and that at the very least they “… view themselves for some purposes as a single people” (Kymlicka 1995, 13). These were the questions being asked of the new citizens of India in 1947.

As when Massimo D’Azeglio in 1861 had said that “We have made Italy. Now we must make the Italians” (Beales et al. 2008, 157), so the new generation of Indian leaders were now faced with the same challenge. Writing of his youth in 1946, Jawaharal Nehru explained that the middle class he belonged to were very much the product of the British system and its views, which they now sought to challenge:

> “New forces arose that drove us to the masses in the villages, and for the first time, a new and different India rose up before the young intellectuals who had almost forgotten its existence, or attached little importance to it. It was a disturbing site, not only because of its stark misery and the magnitude of its problems, but because it began to upset some of our values and conclusions. So began for us the discovery of India as it was…”
>
> *(Nehru 1946, 50)*

Describing the conclusions he came to about Indian identity, he wrote that:

> “I was also fully aware of the diversities and diversions of Indian life, of classes, castes, religions, races, different degrees of cultural development. Yet I think that a country with a long cultural background and a common outlook on life develops a spirit that is peculiar to it and that is impressed upon all its children, however much they may differ among themselves.”
>
> *(Nehru 1946, 52)*

Serving as India’s first prime minister from 1947 to 1964, Nehru pursued a vision of a secular Indian state that would not be bound by class stratification (Sen 2005, 204). In order to achieve this, religion was explicitly excluded as an organisational factor, and there was to be no one official national language, despite the dominance of Hindi. The Indian states were reorganised according to language in 1963, which Brass has described as the

“most successful and balanced nationality policy which has been pursued in either India or the Soviet Union” (Brass 1991, 314).

Following Nehru’s death, it was during the three terms that Indira Gandhi served as prime minister between 1966 and 1984 that sectarian nationalism once more began to take hold in India. Indira Gandhi pursued interventionist policies designed to eliminate state governments run by rival parties, often appealing to voters on the basis of religious issues. This was one of the causes of an increase in sectarian violence and the rise of secessionist movements in Assam, Kashmir, Mizoram, Nagaland and the Punjab (Brass 1991, 318). Eventually this became her downfall, and she was assassinated in retaliation for putting down a Sikh separatist movement in the Punjab that she had helped to create.

In particular her concessions to conservative Muslim demands had the effect of strengthening right-wing Hindu claims that despite government pretences of secularism, Muslims were receiving preferential treatment. The main party to benefit from this was the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP), which went from only two seats in the Lok Sabha (lower house of the parliament) in 1984 to 85 seats in 1989 (ECI 1990). The BHP is the political party of the Hindu nationalist movement, also referred to as *Hindutva* or the *Sangh Parivar*. Other organisations that fit under this umbrella are the *Vishwa Hindu Parishad* (World Council of Hindus, VHP) and the *Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh* (National Self-Help Association, RSS).

These policies were largely continued by Rajiv Gandhi, culminating in the Shao Bano case in 1987, in which the government amended the constitution to specifically deny Muslim women rights to maintenance support following divorce, which until then had been granted to all other Indian women. This was seen as “a watershed event” by the BJP, which galvanised popular Hindu sentiment against what was perceived as Muslim fanaticism (Ludden 2005, 225).

Thus, by the start of the 1990s the policies of India’s government had drifted some way from those of secularism and equality under Nehru. With the VHP and BHP on the rise, a coordinated programme of right-wing Hindu policies and propaganda was ready to be deployed, in which nationalist claims to heritage have played a significant role. These claims will be discussed in detail in chapter 2.

# 2 The History of Archaeology in India

## 2.1 Introduction

The public understanding of archaeology in any country is shaped through the history of the discipline in that local context (Matsuda et al. 2011, 3). This chapter therefore looks at the development of archaeology in India, in order both to understand the approaches of archaeologists today, and to aid in interpreting public perceptions of it. The overview begins with pre-colonial activity, then looks at the individuals within the East India Company and later the Government of India who worked often on a self-funded basis as enthusiasts, through to the establishment and development of the Archaeological Survey of India. The role of Indian archaeologists throughout this period is analysed, as well as the growing influence of the princely states and universities. Following independence, the growth in archaeological activity is tracked, as well as theoretical developments and the role of nationalism.

## 2.2 Pre-colonial archaeology

The first known records of the archaeology of India are those of the Chinese Buddhist monks Faxian and Xuanzang, who travelled through India in the early 5th and mid 7th centuries CE respectively. Amidst their descriptions of Buddhist life, they interpreted the ruins of hundreds of sites, as in the following excerpt from Xuanzang about the present-day area of Sahet Mahet in Uttar Pradesh:

> "THE kingdom of Śrâvastî (Shi-lo-fu-shi-ti) is about 6000 li in circuit. The chief town is desert and ruined. There is no record as to its exact limits (area). The ruins of the walls encompassing the royal precincts give a circuit of about 20 li. Though mostly in ruins, still there are a few inhabitants… There are several hundreds of saṇghârâmas, mostly in ruin… Within the old precincts of the royal city are some ancient foundations; these are the remains of the palace of King Shing-kwan (Prasênajita)."
>
> *(Xuanzang 1884, 1–2)*

These works would later become extremely valuable guides for colonial archaeologists, providing them with a wealth of detail and positional data for pinpointing the location of major sites. It is also interesting to note that Xuanzang took the time to record the communities living within the sites as well.

As with Faxian and Xuanzang, religion would provide motivation for archaeological enquiries by native Indians as well. Starting in 1514, the Hindu spiritual leader Chaitanya Mahaprabnu deliberately sought out and excavated several ancient sites of Krishna worship in the Braj Mandal region, removing all icons found for worship in temples (Cremo 2008). Cremo has argued that the methods he employed do qualify under the modern definition of archaeology, though more akin to modern practices of heritage management.

## 2.3 The colonial period

While it has been proposed that archaeology and antiquarianism mainly served the purposes of the colonial administration (e.g. Cohn 1996), this was often not the case in India due to the passionate dedication of a number of individuals, The earliest systematic archaeological surveys were carried out by Colin MacKenzie from 1783 onwards, in addition to his work in the East India Company's Madras Army, then in the employment of the Nizam of Hyderabad, and finally as Surveyor General of India from 1815 (Ray 2004, 12). Like many who would follow him, Mackenzie's "…'passion for discovery' reached out to the wider fields of Indian archæology, religion, history and traditions" (MacKenzie 1952, 55). As a result, the MacKenzie Collection in the India Office Collection at the British Library has been described as "… exceptional, not only for its size, but also for the fact that materials from it are to be found in almost every section of the India Office Collections including Oriental Languages, European Manuscripts, Prints and Drawings, and Maps" (Blake 1991, 128).

Also typical of the earliest colonial practitioners of archaeology in India, MacKenzie undertook the majority of his work on his own time and at his own expense, as in the case of his 1809 survey of Mysore for example, "with the only burden to the Government of the postage being franked and the aid of some native writers" (MacKenzie 1952, 99).

Like all other colonial archaeologists in India, MacKenzie was naturally dependent on the assistance of native experts, which he generously acknowledged (MacKenzie 1952, 57–58). Chief among these was Cavelly Venkata Boria, who deserves recognition in his own right for the contribution he made. As will be described later however, few other colonial scholars were willing to acknowledge indigenous assistance more than begrudgingly (Anon 1954).

Boria was indispensible to MacKenzie, who would likely have been unable to pursue the majority of his investigations without him. The role of himself and the others employed by MacKenzie is described as follows:

> "…they were for the most part attached to Captain MacKenzie's person, whilst employed on the different surveys on which he was henceforth deputed, or to his office whilst residing at either of the presidencies: under his orders they were sent out to different parks of the Dekhin, with directions to collect books and coins, to copy manuscripts, ascertain the site and legends of all remarkable places, and collect or prepare notices of all objects of interest or curiosity, either in the character of the country, or manners of the people."
>
> *(Anon 1822)*

In a letter to Alexander Johnston, MacKenzie paid special tribute to him as:

> "… the first step of my introduction into the portal of Indian knowledge. Devoid of any knowledge of the languages myself, I owe to the happy genius of this individual the encouragement and the means of obtaining what I had so long sought.... He discovered various ancient coins; and made fac-similes of inscriptions in different obsolete characters."
>
> *(Ramaswami 1834, 142–144)*

At around the same time, Francis Buchanan carried out important large-scale surveys of Mysore (1800) and Bengal (1807-14), which were to provide a basis for much later work. Like MacKenzie, Buchanan had very broad interests, and "In addition to topography, natural history and antiquities, taxation, local customs, diet and general living conditions were all regarded as important subjects of investigation" (Vicziany 1986, 648). His archaeological enquiries, while extensive, were all due to his own personal drive and foresight (Cunningham 1871a, iv).

Buchanan's reports include plenty of evidence that archaeological enquiry at this time was by no means limited to Europeans:

> "I remained at Banuwdsi two days, having met with a Brahman very curious in antiquities, who was named Madu Lviga Butta, and who was priest (Pujdri) in the temple called Madugeswara... Although a person of the most austere and mortified life, and who employs much time in the ceremonies of devotion, yet he had considerable curiosity, and had been at great pains in studying and copying the ancient inscriptions, both here, and at some places of celebrity in the neighbourhood."
>
> *(Buchanan 1807, 230)*

At this time some native Indians were beginning to be taken seriously as authorities within colonial academic society. Pundit Sri Nivasia for example, was the first Indian to publish on archaeology through colonial channels (Ray 2004, 13), describing the ruins of Rajgir among numerous other archaeological sites and temples in the Calcutta Annual register of 1822:

> "… I went to *Rajagiri*, six cos west of which is a small fort, built by the *Moguls* but now in ruins. Southward of that is a lofty mound, where stood, it is said, an old fort, built by *Srenika Maharaja;* the length and breadth of the mound are one mile, and the ruins and ditch may still be distinctly traced…
>
> … After travelling amongst these hills some way, I came upon an open place, strewed with the ruins of a city for about four miles, from south to north, and two miles from east to west;"
>
> *(Nivasia 1822, 37–38)*

While this was an important first step, Nivasia was denied true recognition as the author, being listed only as "a Native Traveller" in the publication, rather than by name.

Another example of a traveller incidentally reporting on archaeology was Charles Masson, who had been born James Lewis and changed his name after deserting the Bengal Artillery in 1827 (Errington 2002, 8). Possessing a strong sense of adventure, Masson wandered throughout South Asia during 1826-1831, and made his sole yet important contribution to Indian archaeology by publicly noting the existence of particularly interesting ruins encountered at Harappa:

> "A long march preceded our arrival at Harípah, through jangal of the closest description... Tradition affirms the existence here of a city, so considerable that it extended to Chicha Wâtní thirteen cosses distant, and that it was destroyed by a particular visitation of Providence, brought down by the lust and crimes of the sovereign."
>
> *(Masson 1844, 452–453)*

The earliest colonial excavations were carried out with the aim of collecting treasure, at the expense of either a proper understanding or preservation of the sites concerned. The first was the Italian Jean-Baptiste Ventura, who excavated the stupa at Manikyala in 1830. James Prinsep of the Asiatic Society recognised the issues involved while simultaneously endorsing the effort:

> "... to overcome scruples and difficulties which the first enterprise of the kind naturally presented. When once it was found that treasures lay hidden in the topes, a stimulus was furnished for the prosecution of similar researches, and I fear it must be added, for the demolition of these mysterious monuments of past ages."
>
> *(James Prinsep 1834, 320)*

Ventura's excavation inspired others to do the same, such J. G. Gerrard, who went on to discover and excavate another stupa at Tahkāl in Gāndhara in 1833 (Errington 1987, 302–303). This was taken to an extreme by the Austrian Martin Honigberger, who went on to dig nearly as many as 30 stupas in the Peshawar as well (Lal 1846, 350) during the

following years. His efforts were so conspicuous that he aroused anger and suspicion as to his motives:

> "At Cabul I opened a great many cupolas (tombs), under the protection of the Nawaub Djubber-Khan, and by so doing aroused the suspicion of Dost Mahomed, who thought that I was carrying immense riches out of the country... Dost Mahomed gave orders to the Governor of Bamian to have me plundered at the frontiers; and thus I was robbed of all at the fortress of Akrabad..."
>
> *(Honigberger 1852, 60)*

Initial investigations into the prehistory of India began with Colonel Meadows-Taylor in the mid 19th century, who conducted large field surveys of megaliths throughout South India. As was the case with many other colonial scholars, he found it most plausible to credit past change in India to outside influences. His work included the excavation of a prehistoric cemetery at Jiwarji in 1847 for example, from which his conclusion about the graves was that:

> "I have little doubt myself that they were those of nomadic tribes of Druidic Scythians who penetrated into India at a very early period and who must have formed local settlements in various parts…"
>
> *(Meadows-Taylor 1951, 17)*

Meadows-Taylor was also very passionate about India and sought unsuccessfully to transfer this to the English public by writing one of the first histories of the region. He became very dejected by the general lack of interest in the subject back home (Meadows-Taylor 1878, 461), and would no doubt be even more so today.

Alexander Cunningham spent his first 28 years in India in the service of the East India Company as an Engineer and engaged in archaeological activity in his personal time and at his own expense (Imam 1963, 194). Despite the personal motivations behind this work, which included rediscovering the sites described by Faxian in the 5th century, Cunningham also had much broader goals aligned to colonial political objectives, seeing his work as:

> "… an undertaking of vast importance to the Indian government politically, and to the British public religiously. To the first body it would show that India had generally been divided into numerous petty chiefships, which had invariably been the case upon every successful invasion; while, whenever she had been under one ruler, she had always repelled foreign conquest with determined resolution. To the other body it would show that Brahmanism, instead of being an unchanged and unchangeable religion which had subsisted for ages, was of comparatively modern origin, and had been constantly receiving additions and alterations; facts which prove that the establishment of the Christian religion in India must ultimately succeed."
>
> *(Cunningham 1843, 246–247)*

In 1861 he proposed an extensive Government-run survey of north and central India to Lord Canning, the newly arrived Viceroy of India, stressing the importance of recording sites under threat (Cunningham 1871a, iii). This resulted in a four-year appointment as Archaeological Surveyor in the newly established, but as yet temporary Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) (Imam 1963, 199). Lord Canning saw archaeology as an important responsibility of the colonial government:

> "It will not be to our credit, as an enlightened ruling power, if we continue to allow such fields of investigation… to remain without more examination than they have hitherto received. Every thing that has hitherto been done in this way has been done by private persons, imperfectly and without system. It is impossible not to feel that there are European Governments, which, if they had held our rule in India, would not have allowed this to be said."
>
> *(Lord Canning, quoted by Cunningham 1871a, i)*

Cunningham clearly relished the professionalization of his hobby (Cunningham 1871b, xiv), and further lobbying led to the permanent establishment of the ASI in 1871, with himself as Director-General. While this set the stage for a large-scale, structured and professional approach to archaeology in India in the future, in the short term it meant that a large amount of highly useful survey work could now be completed by fully dedicated personnel. This work resulted in an unequalled quantity of outputs, and proved to be highly formative for Indian archaeology, still exerting an influence today (Ray 2004, 17). On the other hand, Cunningham's excavations tended to be quick and precursory at best. He often visited up to thirty sites per season, stopping an average of three to six days only at each, just long enough to hazard an identification of the site and collect what he could find (Imam 1963, 200).

While Cunningham was engaged in establishing the ASI, archaeological work was also taking place in parallel within the Geological Survey of India (GSI), which had been established in 1851. It took a resilient kind of person to work in such organisations at this time, with three of twelve GSI assistants dying within 2 years of their arrival in India (Srikantia 2013, 18). It was due to one of these openings that Robert Bruce Foote joined the GSI in 1858, and he soon initiated the field of palaeontology in India with the discovery of the first prehistoric stone tools at Palavaram in Madras in 1863 (Pappu 2008, 37), which he described thus:

> "…the striking resemblance of the objects of their respective manufacture, that the people who made the quartzite Implements of Southern India were contemporaries of those who manufactured flint Implements in Northern France and other parts of Europe."
>
> *(Foote 1866, 30)*

Foote's work in southern India and Gujarat over the next thirty years resulted in the Foote Collection held at the Madras Museum, with over 90 Palaeolithic and 122 Neolithic objects (Foote 1914; Chakrabarti 1979, 19). Foote was also well aware of recent developments in European theory, and contributed significantly to the understanding of site formation processes in India (Pappu 1991, 647–649). In all his work was foundational for Indian palaeontology and influenced many contemporary and future generations of researchers (Varma 1997, 1).

Following Cunningham's retirement from the ASI, James Burgess became Director-General in 1886. While he would only lead the ASI for four years, Burgess had already played a major role in Indian archaeology over the previous twenty years as head of the Archaeological Survey of Western India from 1873 and of Southern India from 1861 (Ray 2004, 19). Burgess produced very precise, detailed reports, aided by his ability to build and coordinate teams with a range of specialisms, including photography, epigraphy and numismatics. As summarised by Imam (1963, 206), "if Cunningham had genius, Burgess had method" and his reports on Western and Southern India rivalled Cunningham's work in the North both in quality and volume. His tenure thus represented a significant professional specialization of archaeology in India, as described in an Obituary published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society:*

> "His labours in the field of Indian antiquities and history, prolonged as they were for more than half a century, can never be forgotten, for he was in large measure the founder and father of modern Indian archaeological science; while his monumental volumes will always remain standard works of reference."
>
> *(Sewell 1917, 195)*

There were downsides to the high number of excavations carried out by Burgess however, in that they tended to be quick and precursory, often mainly for the purpose of collection rather than gaining a deeper understanding of a site (Ray 2004, 20). His work also unfortunately neglected the importance of local communities and their knowledge, meaning that his surveys often lack valuable contextual information, as evidenced in this recommendation in a report on the archaeology of the Bombay Presidency that the recording of "any local history or tradition" was unnecessary (Burgess 1885, iii).

Following Burgess's retirement in 1889 the government decided to devolve the ASI into regional surveys, and Indian archaeology was largely uncoordinated and under-resourced for the next decade. This was reversed with the arrival of Lord Curzon as Viceroy of India in 1899. Curzon had great ambitions for the ASI and along with an eight-fold increase in

funding to local governments for the conservation of monuments, he appointed John Marshall to the post of Director-General in 1902 (Gilmour 2003, 179).

Summarising Marshall's 26 year career as Director in 1939, Alfred Foucher wrote that "just as the early period of the Archaeological Survey of India is identified with General Alexander Cunningham's career, so is the later period entirely impersonated by Sir John Marshall" (Foucher 1939, 354). Following directives from Curzon the majority of Marshall's work was confined to creating a large-scale programme for the conservation of monuments (Lahiri 1998, 9), but he did carry out several important excavations which were of a much more comprehensive nature than those of Burgess (Ray 2004, 21), including Taxila (J. H. Marshall 1918), Sanchi (Marshall 1947), and most famously Mohenjo-daro (Marshall 1931).

The excavations at Mohenjo-daro were of enormous importance for the membership of India among the 'cradles of civilisation', and Marshall was fully aware of this:

> "One thing that stands out clear and unmistakable both at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa is that the civilization hitherto revealed at these two places is not an incipient civilization, but one already age-old, and stereotyped on Indian soil, with many millennia of human development behind it. Thus India must henceforth be recognized, along with Persia, Mesopotamia and Egypt, as one of the most important areas where the civilizing processes of society were initiated and developed… We are engaged in opening up an entirely new chapter of civilization."
>
> *(Marshall 1931, viii–ix)*

Foucher put Marshall's legacy into context:

> "Let us hope the excavations at Mohenjo Daro and Harappa will not cast in the shade his other archaeological achievements; yet he must accept his fate; to future generations he will always be the man who, archaeologically speaking, left India three thousand years older than he had found her."
>
> *(Foucher 1939, 355)*

Working under the constant directive of Curzon was not always easy for Marshall, who occasionally "fell far below his chief's standards of penmanship and sometimes had to be reproved with preceptorial frankness." Mortimer Wheeler also later criticised his "lack of technical knowledge or interest" (Wheeler 1976, 11), especially with regard to digging, claiming for example that his 1903 excavations at Charsadā were "without substantive result" (Wheeler 1976, 16–17). This is generally unfair, as at that time Marshall was new to India and restricted in the time he could devote to digging by his instructions from Curzon

(Lahiri 1998, 9), and is more a reflection of Wheeler's ego rather than Marshall's competency.

Under Marshall the number of Indian staff of the ASI increased dramatically, leading Foucher to further write that:

> "A new era is opening before the Archaeological Survey, whose staff is now all-Indian. A master hand has fixed and written down the proper methods, sketched the outlines of future research, and set a great example. Indian archaeologists will progress on the path which has been triumphantly opened for them."
>
> *(Foucher 1939, 355)*

This was not immediately to be however. Marshall was succeeded as Director-General by another Englishman, Harold Hargreaves in 1928. Funding cuts, particularly due to the war effort, made it difficult to staff the survey and keep up the volume of work and reporting that it had sustained under Marshall, and the leadership changed hands a total of four times within 10 years, with Hargreaves followed by Daya Ram Sahni, J.F. Blakiston and K.N. Dikshit in relatively quick succession.

The appointment of Daya Ram Sahni is significant as he was the first Indian Director-General of the Survey. Hired originally as assistant to John Marshall, he had worked at Sarnath with him, before being given responsibility for Kashmir State, and then for the excavation of Harappa (Anon 1939, 280). His obituary underlines the fact that although he and other Indians were well trained by this time and had plenty of excellent foundations to build upon, they no longer had the required financial support:

> "Unfortunately, his advent coincided with an era of unprecedented curtailment of activities owing to the need of retrenchment and his three years' tenure as Director-General was consequently very much handicapped and the lowest watermark of funds allotted to this cultural activity was reached."
>
> *(Anon 1939, 280)*

Similar to Sahni, K.N. Dikshit had also worked under Marshall, in particular at Mohenjo-daro (Dikshit 1938). His tenure was also financially constrained and largely uneventful, but did significantly involve the development of cooperation between the ASI and the universities.

The appointments of Sahni and Dikshit, while not leading to highly successful tenures, nonetheless mark a critical point in the evolution of Indian archaeology, where full responsibility and credit for work was finally being given to Indians themselves. There had been considerable involvement by many dedicated and skilled Indians long before this

time, but they had often been supressed and side-lined by the British. In many cases this was competition for individual recognition, but often it was also to reinforce a colonial narrative whereby the quality work was done by the British, with native Indians and other foreigners playing only a minor role (Ray 2004, 28–29). The following examples of Cavelly Vankata Luxmia, Rajadralal Mitra, P.C. Mukerjee and R.D. Banerjee demonstrate the difficulties that native archaeologists faced during the colonial period.

When Cavelly Venkata Luxmia, a professor at Madras College and member of the Royal Asiatic Society, applied to the Asiatic Society for a project "involving the systematic collection, editing and translation of inscriptions from various parts of South India", he was rejected by the president, James Prinsep:

> "… such an extensive scheme would need the control of a master head, accustomed to generalisations and capable of estimating the value and drift of inscriptions and legendary evidence. The qualifications of Cavelly Venkata for such an office, or indeed of any native, could hardly be pronounced equal to such a task, however useful they may prove as auxiliaries in such a train of research."
>
> *(Prinsep 1836, 453)*

This belittling of Indian colleagues could take on a much nastier tone if they dared to assert themselves too much. Rajendralal Mitra, the first Indian president of the Asiatic Society, had for example criticised Fergusson's conclusion that Hindu and Buddhist architecture had Greek origins:

> "Mr. Fergusson' s remarks have not been of a comprehensive character, dealing with the subject in all its bearings, such as the public had a right to expect from a ripe scholar and antiquarian of his standing. He seems to overlook, if not to ignore and repudiate, historical evidence, and to confine himself exclusively to the interpretation of ancient lithic remains. Even when he has referred to ancient records, he has not shown that fairness and frankness which were to have been expected from him."
>
> *(Mitra 1881, ii)*

Fergusson's response was dismissive and thoroughly racist:

> "The real interest, however, of the volume - if any - will probably be found to reside, not in the analysis of the archaeological works of Babu Rajendralala Mitra, but, in these days of discussions on Ilbert Bills, in the question as to whether the natives of India are to be treated as equal to Europeans in all respects. Under present circumstances it cannot fail to interest many to dissect the writings of one of the most prominent members of the native community, that we may lay bare and understand his motives and modes of action, and thus ascertain how far Europeans were justified in refusing to submit to the jurisdiction of natives in criminal actions… Instead of the religion, which governs every action of their life, we have tried to substitute an education,

> which they cannot assimilate, and which in consequence remains, in almost all instances, a useless and empty platitude."
>
> *(Fergusson 1884, vi–vii)*

The case of P.C. Mukherjee is also interesting, as it demonstrated how difficult it was for an Indian archaeologist to build a career on equal terms with his European colleagues in the latter part of the 19th century, no matter how skilled and experienced he was. Mukherjee was an experienced surveyor and draftsman, and among other work had excavated and drawn plans of the Buddhist site of Lumbini in Nepal (Mishra 2004, 12). He made numerous applications to the Archaeological Department for permission and funding to carry out his own projects, and for increases in pay on a parity with his colleagues, which were all turned down (e.g. IOR 1889). Something that may have been a factor in this was that Mukherjee was the central figure who uncovered systematic fraud in the work of the German archaeologist A.A. Führer, who was until that time one of the most active surveyors employed by the ASI:

> "In 1898, Dr. Führer was again deputed to the Tarai… Several Stupas were found and ruthlessly destroyed. The large number of the Stupas, which he identified as the "Massacre of the Sakyas" were no sooner traced than destroyed in the hope of finding relics… His alleged discovery of several inscriptions in "pre-Asoka" characters has been proved to be not based on facts. Altogether his results were very unsatisfactory and not less conflicting. His *Monograph* and *Progress Reports* have been found to be full of mistakes."
>
> *(Mukherjee in Smith 1901, 84–85)*

Führer was dismissed from the Survey in disgrace, and his published works removed from circulation. Around this time Burgess became very defensive with regard to Mukerjee, even claiming that he had gained access to his private correspondence through one of the native clerks (Lahiri 2000, 102). Marshall in turn neglected to report on important survey work Mukerjee had done for him, including the survey of Ujjain in 1902 (Lahiri 2000, 93), and downplayed his achievements in a short obituary, saying only that "without the advantage of a scientific training, Babu P. C. Mukerji showed himself ungrudgingly devoted to his work and possessed of a variety of useful knowledge which was not infrequently turned to good account" (Marshall 1905, 7).

Marshall also carefully supressed the work of another Indian archaeologist during the excavation of Mohenjo-daro to his own advantage. R.D. Banerjee carried out the early excavations at Mohenjo-daro and established the importance of the site, submitting a detailed report to Marshall. Marshall then concealed the report until he could himself excavate the site and publish, taking the lion's share of the credit and the spotlight for

himself. When Banerjee's report finally came out much later on, his publisher appended the following note:

> "In 1921 Harappa was established as a chalcolithic site by Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni. In 1922 Prof. R.D. Banerjee found similar chalcolithic remains at Mohenjodaro beneath a Buddhist *stupa.* He conducted excavations at three sites and submitted a report, bringing thus, entirely new civilisation to light. … But what happened to this report? … Sir John Marshall concealed the report for four years and when he prepared his own report on Mohenjodaro he returned It on 16th January, 1930. … He also insisted that Prof. Banerjee should publish this report prior to his own publication on Mohenjodaro. But where was the time left? He returned the duplicate typescript in 1930 and in 1931 he brought out his own volumes Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilization."
>
> *(Banerjee 1984, i)*

Marshall did acknowledge Banerjee in his 1931 report on Mohenjodaro, but gave full prominence to his own work and interpretations, systematically downplaying Banerjee's own role, for example in the acknowledgements section he mentions "… the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, to whom belongs the credit of having discovered, if not Mohenjo-daro itself, at any rate its high antiquity" (Marshall 1931, x). He goes on to on the one hand pay respect to Banerjee, while on the other understating the scale and importance of his work:

> "With the hot season rapidly approaching, Mr. Banerji's digging was necessarily very restricted, and it is no wonder, therefore, that his achievements have been put in the shade by the much bigger operations that have since been carried out. That does not, however, lessen the credit due to him."
>
> *(Marshall 1931, 11)*

It should also be noted that Indian archaeology during this period was quite competitive in general, including among the native Indians themselves. Bhagwanlal Indraji was a talented epigrapher who made important breakthroughs in encrypting ancient numerals, the Asokan inscriptions, and was one of the first Indians to lead an excavation according to modern European methods, at Sopara in 1882 (Indraji 1882). Indraji worked for another well-known antiquarian for many years, Dr Bhau Daji, many of whose major works on epigraphy were heavily dependent on Indraji's work, yet gave him very little credit (Dharamsey 2004, 82).

Despite these difficulties, change was inevitable as India moved gradually towards independence. The appointments of Sahni and Dikshit to the leadership of the ASI were only one area in which this was occurring, and independent Indian archaeology was also developing in parallel within the universities and the princely states.

India already had a long tradition of higher education among Buddhists, Hindus and Muslims. The Buddhist school of Nalanda in particular, had already developed the characteristics of a modern university in the 5th century CE, with a non-sectarian, non-denominational nature and aiming at a complete education (Scharfe 2002, 158). In 1857, the British established three universities modelled on the University of London at Calcutta, Bombay and Madras (Perkin 2007, 187), which were soon followed by many others.

This was a critical precursor for the teaching and expansion of modern archaeology in India and courses slowly began to appear, starting with the University of Calcutta in 1917, which was also the first to excavate in 1938 (Basak 2007, 333–335), and the Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Centre at Pune in 1939. The universities were able to benefit from an influx of high quality, well-trained staff such as H.D. Sankalia who joined Deccan College in 1939 (Pappu 2005, 1). Sankalia had been Wheeler's first pupil (Sankalia 1974, 19), and was soon being asked to coordinate projects with the ASI by K.N. Dikshit (Sankalia 1978, 40). At the same time the central government chose to increase the number of Indian archaeologists through funded scholarships, as described in a note from Marshall in 1915:

> "Until a few years ago there were no facilities in India for the study of archaeology, and the Government of India had no option but to seek recruits in Europe. In order to remove this disability, it was decided in 1903 to encourage the pursuit of archaeology among Indians by the offer of State scholarships…. To what extent this official encouragement of India's talent has succeeded, may be gauged by the fact that at the present moment there are eight ex-scholars occupying responsible archaeology posts, namely: five in British territory and three in the native states of Hyderabad, Gwalior and Kashmir; besides which five other appointments are held by Indians who have received their training in other capacities in the department."
>
> *(Marshall 1915, 2–3)*

At the same time that university-based archaeology was becoming established, state archaeology departments were now also appearing. This happened first in the princely states. In 1929 there were 562 independent states, 235 of which were ruled by princes (see Table 6).

| Class of State, Estate, Etc. | Number | Area in square miles | Population | Revenue in crores of rupees[1] | Approx. equivalent Revenue in GBP[2] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| I. States the rulers of which are members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right. | 108 | 514,886 | 59,847,186 | 42.16 | 1,648,737,915 |
| II. States the rulers of which are represented in the Chamber of Princes by twelve members of their order elected by themselves. | 127 | 76,846 | 8,004,114 | 2.89 | 113,018,325 |
| III. Estates, Jagirs and others… | 327 | 6,406 | 801,674 | .74 | 28,938,948 |
| Total | 562 | 598,138 | 68,652,974 | 45.79 | 1,790,695,188 |

Table 6: Statistics of the princely states as they existed in 1929 (source: table from ISC 1929, 10; extended with modern revenue equivalents)

Comprising approximately 40% of the territory of India and 20% of its population, these states were by no means insignificant, and by no means could the Crown claim to exercise absolute control over India (Ernst et al. 2007, 1). When the Crown assumed control of the Government of India in 1854, following the Indian Mutiny, Queen Victoria's proclamation made it clear that the existing princely states would continue under the same terms they had negotiated with the East India Company, and that as long as the states were loyal, their sovereignty would be completely secure (Queen Victoria 1858, 1).

In practice imperial intentions were not quite as chaste as the proclamation projected, and colonial administrators used a variety of measures to influence the states when they were not operated as desired (Mathur et al. 1991, 23). Nonetheless, as can be seen from the map in Figure 2 below, a large portion of India and its archaeological sites were effectively under the sovereign control of the princes.

[1] 1 crore = 10,000,000

[2] Revenue values are calculated assuming that the Indian Rupee was pegged to the British Sterling from 1926 to 1966 at 13.33 INR to 1 GBP (Johri et al. 1988, 6), and using the historic price indexes for British Sterling and calculations provided by the House of Commons Library (Allen 2012).


Figure 2: India in 1929, showing the class I princely states in yellow (source: ISC 1929)

This was summarized by the Report of the Indian States Committee in 1929:

> “Politically there are thus two Indias, British India, governed by the Crown according to the statutes of Parliament and enactments of the Indian legislature, and the Indian States under the suzerainty of the Crown and still for the much part under the personal rule of their Princes. Geographically India is one and indivisible, made up of the pink and the yellow. The problem of statesmanship is to hold the two together.

> … the one feature common to them all [the princely states] is that they are not part, or governed by the law, of British India."
>
> *(ISC 1929, 10–11)*

This effectively meant that the British could not impose archaeological legislation or activity on the princely states, and that "… the colonial state could only 'invite' the cooperation of the native states in their archaeological enterprise" (Marshall 1915, 3).

While the ASI was struggling in the early 20th Century, many of the princely states took matters into their own hands and funded their own departments, especially in order to protect and research archaeology of regional importance. It is really at this point that archaeology in India began to transition from colonial enterprise to full Indian ownership.

The princely states known to have supported archaeological activity before independence are listed below in Table 7.

| Princeley State | State-funded archaeology first recorded |
|---|---|
| Mysore | 1885 |
| Jaipur | 1887 |
| Travancore | 1891 |
| Jammu and Kashmir | 1904 |
| Bhopal | 1909 |
| Hyderabad | 1914 |
| Gwalior | 1923 |

Table 7: Earliest known dates of state-funded archaeology in India

The nature and scale of activity varied from state to state but was in each case due to internal interests. As early as 1885, Maharaja Chamaraja Wodeyar X of the Kingdom of Mysore appointed Benjamin Lewis Rice as 'first Director of Archaeological Researches', with a full state archaeological department formed under him in 1888 (Rice 1897, 796). One result of this was the *Epigraphia Carnativa*, an important collection of 8,869 inscriptions that Rice collected from throughout Mysore State and Coorg (Rice 1894, 11).

At the same time in Jaipur State, Maharaja Madho Singh funded and opened the Jaipur Museum with of over 14,000 items including a large collection antiquities in 1887 (Tillotson 2004, 121).

In 1891 Maharaja Mulam Thirunal Rama Varma of the Kingdom of Travancore employed P. Sundaram Pillay as 'Honorary Archaeologist' with a small staff, "to collect and decipher

inscriptions found in temples, mantapams, forts, palaces, and isolated landmarks all over Travancore" (Aiya 1906, 175).

Maharaja Pratap Singh ordered the establishment of the Jammu and Kashmir Archaeological and Research Department in 1904 (Rai 2009, 410). Here the state government almost exclusively prioritised protecting ancient and current places of Hindu worship (Rai 2009, 415), which led to conflicts with the ASI, who failed to understand their motivations (Kunow 1909, 8).

In Bhopal, the Nawab Sultan Jahan founded the Edward Museum in 1909, which has since become the State Archaeology Museum (Hendley 1914, 214). She also insisted that the conservation of the monuments at Sanchi was the responsibility of her state, and provided the funding for Marshall's excavations from 1912 to 1919, as well as his publications and the site museum (Guha-Thakurta 2013, 93–94).

A full archaeological department was established in Hyderabad State in 1914 by the Nizam, H.E.H. Nawab Sir Mir Osman Ali Khan, which was run by Ghulam Yazdani for the next 22 years and involved multiple excavations and the establishment of a museum (Yazdani 1936, 1–2). A 1915 report by Marshall (Marshall 1915, 3) sought to portray the ASI as still the main authority with regard to the entire territory of India, and deliberately played down the degree to which the initiative and funding came from the states themselves, and was perhaps a somewhat defensive reaction due to a sense that the British were beginning to lose control.

In reality with universities and princely states taking a significant role by the early 20th century, Indian archaeology had taken on a momentum of its own and could no longer be considered a purely colonial exercise. This was more directly recognised in a Department of Education resolution by the Governor-General, Charles Hardinge, in 1915, that accompanied Marshall's note:

> "The Government of India highly appreciate the work done by the various Native States… They trust that their example will be followed by others and that the Archaeological Department, the Universities and other centres of Learning and research will continue to broaden the intellectual life of the country and promote historical study."
>
> *(DOE 2015, 4)*

In 1938 the Government of India asked the respected Mesopotamian archaeologist Leonard Woolley to provide it with advice on their archaeological programme, largely due the fact that the ASI had been struggling to perform. The decision had been made to

discontinue excavation work due to war-time budgetary constraints, which proved very unpopular and drew a loud protest from the Indian History Congress meeting in Calcutta that year (Anon 1940, 622). Woolley concluded however that the problems with the ASI were due primarily to a lack of training rather than insufficient funds, which was not the fault of the staff themselves (Woolley 1939, 2).

It is interesting however that nowhere in his report does he recognise the role beginning to be played by the princely states and universities, especially with regard to being an essential and unavoidable part of Indian archaeology's future. Despite stating that it was "essential that the Archaeological Department share the work of excavation with foreign bodies or with Indian institutions, the results of whose activities should enrich the national collections without direct cost to the Government of India", he only considered Indian academic societies and museums as possible partners (Woolley 1939, 12).

The universities were seen as useful only in regard to their ability to provide educated candidates for the Survey, and the princely states were not considered at all. It is therefore ironic that the one excavation that he reviewed positively was in fact carried out by state archaeology in Hyderabad:

> "I very much hope that the excavations at Paithan conducted for H.E.H. the Nizam's Government may yield a type sequence which will to some extent at least serve as a basis for South Indian archaeology generally… a beginning will have been made which should help to decide the course of research in British India."
>
> *(Woolley 1939, 7)*

To rectify the problems he had identified, Woolley recommended hiring an outside expert:

> "I am not suggesting that the direction of the Archaeological Survey of India should be taken out of Indian hands and controlled by a foreigner; but expert help is needed and since it Is not forthcoming in India it must be sought abroad."
>
> *(Woolley 1939, 33)*

As a result of this recommendation, Viceroy Wavell appointed Mortimer Wheeler to the post for five years, and he arrived in India in 1944. It should be noted that Wheeler had a strong sense of self-importance and often sought to downplay or even ridicule the work done by others in order to build up his own image, which should be taken into account when reading his works. He was particularly critical of Marshall as a method of establishing his own credentials for the post through contrast, exaggeratedly claiming for example that "… his lack of technical knowledge or interest led ultimately to the notorious breakdown of

the survey" (Wheeler 1976, 11), and that "the task was too formidable a one for prentice hands" (Wheeler 1976, 16–17).

When Wheeler described his locating of ceramics that had previously been collected and displayed in a museum case by someone else as "the most important discovery… in the total story of recent Indian archaeology" (Wheeler 1976, 41), he was continuing the long tradition described earlier in this chapter of downplaying the contributions of others and claiming the credit for himself.

Nevertheless, he brought with him funding and a clear set of goals that he wanted to achieve in a four-year excavation plan, central to which was establishing a fixed reference date for early South Indian history (Sankalia 1974, 19). He contributed to Indian archaeology a focus on prehistory and emphasised the need for scientific analysis of finds, careful planning of archaeological activity, and sound stratigraphic analysis (Chakrabarti 1982, 337). Most importantly, in 1944 he ran an archaeological training school at Taxila, which involved over 60 graduates from 19 Indian universities (Wheeler 1976, 32). This was critical as it not only provided the ASI with a pool of capable future workers, but it recognised the key fact that Woolley had missed, which was that universities could themselves also play a vital role in archaeological research.

Wheeler's time in India was cut short in 1947 when "momentous political events intervened" (Wheeler 1976, 18), and with Indian independence and partition the colonial era of Indian archaeology came to an end.

Indian archaeology had developed from the privately financed excursions of individual officers of the East India Company, to the establishment of the ASI, university departments, and independent state archaeology units. Looking back at this time, it is natural to question how much of a conscious or unconscious political agenda stood behind archaeology in the colonial period.

## 2.4 The post-independence period

The ASI grew very quickly following independence and became a part of the new government civil service. This was significant, because from now on the Directors-General were largely career bureaucrats, rather than serious archaeologists with a vision for Indian archaeology (Chakrabarti 2006, 511).

From 1980 onwards, recruitment had to follow the rules laid down by the Mandal Commission (Gov. India 1980), and there were complaints that often the best suited candidates were passed over due to caste-bias (Chakrabarti 2006, 512).

Almost all states now have their own departments as well, with widely varying degrees of activity. Uttar Pradesh State Archaeology for instance is more active than the ASI itself, while in Maharashtra the department seems to exist in name only. A list of state departments is shown below in Table 8, with a timeline of their establishment in Figure 3.

| State/Union Territory | Parent department | Current responsible entity | Year est. | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Karnataka | Department of Kannada & Culture | Department of Archaeology, Museums and Heritage | 1885 | (GKDAMH 2016) |
| Kerala | Cultural Affairs Department | Department of Archaeology | 1891 | (GKDA 2016) |
| Jammu & Kashmir | Tourism and Culture Department | Directorate of Archives, Archaeology and Museums | 1904 | (Rai 2009, 410) |
| Andhra Pradesh and Telangana | Youth Advancement, Tourism and Culture | Department of Archaeology and Museums | 1914 | (Yazdani 1936, 2) |
| Rajasthan | Department of Art & Culture | Department of Archaeology and Museums | 1950 | (GRDAM 2016) |
| Uttar Pradesh | Department of Culture | Directorate of Archaeology | 1951 | (GUPDA 2016) |
| Madhya Pradesh | Department of Culture | Directorate of Archaeology, Archives and Museums | 1956 | (Sharma et al. 2001, 3) |
| West Bengal | Ministry of Information & Cultural Affairs | Directorate of Archaeology and Museums | 1958 | (Basak 2007, 337) |
| Assam | Cultural Affairs Department | Directorate of Archaeology | 1961 | (Dutta 2010) |
| Bihar | Art, Culture and Youth Department | Directorate of Archaeology and Museums | 1961 | (GBACYD 2016) |
| Tamil Nadu | Tourism,Culture and Religious Endowments Dept. | Department of Archaeology | 1961 | (GTNDA 2016) |
| Maharashtra | Tourism and Cultural Affairs Department | Directorate of Archaeology and Museums | 1961 | ? |
| Punjab | Dept. of Youth Affairs, Sports, Archaeology & Tourism | Directorate of Archaeology | 1963 | (PSAAM 1967, 8) |
| Gujarat | Sports, Youth and Cultural Activities Department | Directorate of Archaeology | 1964 | (GSSYCAD 2016) |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Nagaland | Department of Art & Culture | None | 1964 | (NSIC 2016) |
| Odisha | Department of Culture | Odisha State Archaeology | 1965 | (GOOSA 2016) |
| Goa | Department of Archives & Archaeology | Directorate of Archives & Archaeology | 1968 | (GGDAA 2016) |
| Haryana | Department of Archaeology & Museums | Department of Archaeology & Museums | 1969 | (GHDAM 2016) |
| Manipur | Department of Arts and Culture | Archaeological Department | 1978 | (GMSAACD 1995, 1) |
| Mizoram | Art & Culture Department | Archaeology Unit | 1978 | (NICMSU 2016) |
| National Capital Territory of Delhi | Department of Art, Culture and Language | Department of Archaeology | 1978 | (GNCTD 2016) |
| Himalchal Pradesh | Department of Language & Culture | State Archaeology | 1982 | (GHP 2016) |

Table 8: State archaeology departments in India

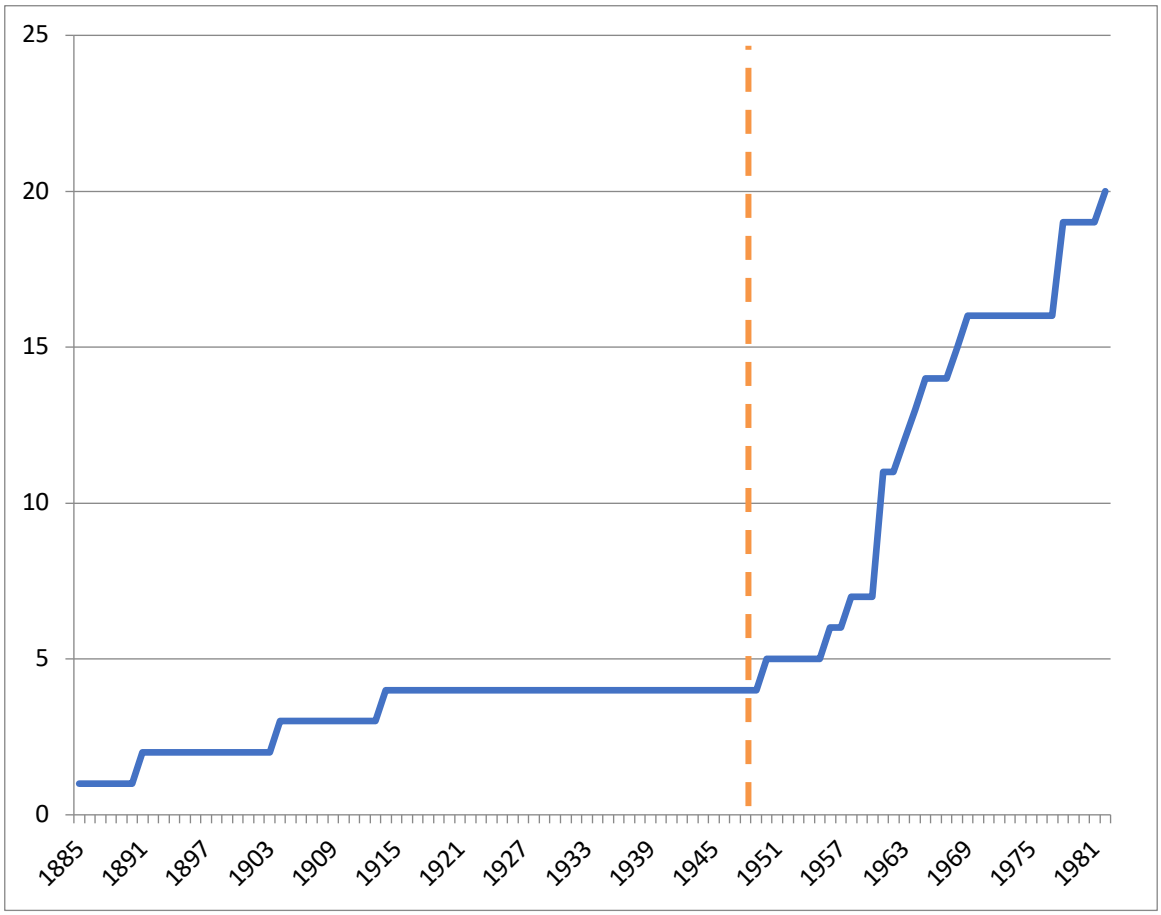



Figure 3: Founding dates of Indian state archaeology departments (source: see Table 8)

The number of universities has also rapidly expanded. While there were 19 universities in India when Wheeler ran his school at Taxila in 1944, by 2006 there were 354 (AIU 2006, xi). The number of students rose accordingly, with nearly 200,000 students at independence rising to 3.6 million by 1987 (Perkin 2007, 187). There is a misconception that only a few Indian universities offer archaeology courses, with very few below MA level (e.g. Chakrabarti 2006, 512). The number of universities offering archaeology degrees has in fact increased dramatically, from only a few before independence to 60 in 2006, with 36 bachelors degree courses and 49 at masters level (figures compiled from AIU 2006)[3]. The degrees offered are summarised in Table 9 below:

| University | State | Est. | BA degrees | MA degrees |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Acharya Nagarjuna University | Andhra Pradesh | 1976 | | MA Ancient History & Archaeology |
| Andhra University | Andhra Pradesh | 1926 | | MA Ancient History & Archaeology |
| Osmania University | Andhra Pradesh | 1918 | | MA Ancient History & Archaeology |
| Dravidian University | Andhra Pradesh | 1997 | | MA History (Archaeology & Culture) |
| B N Mandal University | Bihar | 1992 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Babasaheb Bhimrao Ambedkar Bihar University | Bihar | 1952 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | |
| Jai Prakash Vishwavidyalaya | Bihar | 1992 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | |
| Tilka Manjhi Bhagalpur University | Bihar | 1960 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture |
| Patna University | Bihar | 1917 | | MA Ancient History & Archaeology |
| Panjab University | Chandigarh | 1947 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Guru Ghasidas University | Chhatisgarh | 1983 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | |

[3] Note that the figures based on the membership of the Association of Indian Universities in 2006 are necessarily incomplete, covering 279 of the 354 universities existing in 2006. They therefore omit universities established in the last decade, and there is a possible bias against the smaller, more marginal states.

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| PT Ravishankar Shukla University | Chhatisgarh | 1964 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | |
| Indira Kala Sangit Vishwavidyalaya | Chhatisgarh | 1956 | | MA Museology |
| The Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda | Gujarat | 1949 | BA Archaeology & Ancient Indian Culture | MA Archaeology & Culture |
| Gujarat University | Gujarat | 1949 | | MA Art/Archaeology |
| Kurukshetra University | Haryana | 1956 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology; BA Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Maharshi Dayanand University | Haryana | 1976 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | |
| Himachal Pradesh University | Himachal Pradesh | 1970 | BA Ancient History, Culture & Archaeology | |
| Sido-Kanhu Murmu University | Jharkhand | 1992 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | |
| University of Mysore | Karnataka | 1916 | BA Ancient History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Ancient History & Archaeology/History/Culture |
| Karnatak University | Karnataka | 1949 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | MA History & Archaeology |
| Bangalore University | Karnataka | 1964 | BA Archaeology | |
| Mangalore University | Karnataka | 1980 | BA Archaeology | |
| Awadhesh Pratap Singh University | Madhya Pradesh | 1968 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Barkatullah Vishwavidyalaya | Madhya Pradesh | 1970 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Indology & Museology |
| Rani Durgavati Vishwavidyalaya | Madhya Pradesh | 1957 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Vikram University | Madhya Pradesh | 1957 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Doctor Harisingh Gour Vishwavidyalaya | Madhya Pradesh | 1946 | | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Jiwaji University | Madhya Pradesh | 1964 | | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Madhya Pradesh Bhoj (Open) University | Madhya Pradesh | 1992 | | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Dr Panjabrao Deshmukh Krishi Vidyapeeth | Maharashtra | 1969 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | |
| University of Pune | Maharashtra | 1949 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Art/Archaeology |
| Rashtrasant Tukadoji Maharaj Nagpur University | Maharashtra | 1923 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Sant Gadge Baba Amravati University | Maharashtra | 1983 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | |
| Shivaji University | Maharashtra | 1962 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Shreemati Nathibai Damodar Thackersey Women's University | Maharashtra | 1951 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | |
| Dr Babasaheb Ambedkar Marathwada University | Maharashtra | 1958 | BA Archaeology | |
| University of Mumbai | Maharashtra | 1857 | | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute | Maharashtra | 1939 | | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology & Linguistics |
| Nagaland University | Nagaland | 1994 | | MA History & Archaeology |
| Jawaharlal Nehru University | New Delhi | 1969 | | MA Art/Archaeology |
| National Museum Institute of History of Art, Conservation and Museology | New Delhi | 1989 | | MA Conservation;<br>MA Museology |
| Utkal University | Orissa | 1943 | | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Utkal University of Culture | Orissa | 1999 | | MA Cultural Heritage & Conservation |
| Guru Nanak Dev University | Punjab | 1969 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | |
| University of Madras | Tamil Nadu | 1857 | BA Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Tamil University | Tamil Nadu | 1981 | | MA History Archaeology & Manuscriptology |
| University of Allahabad | Uttar Pradesh | 1887 | BA Ancient History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Ancient History & Archaeology/History/Culture |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Deendayal Upadhyay Gorakhpur University | Uttar Pradesh | 1957 | BA Ancient History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Ancient History & Archaeology/History/Culture |
| Banaras Hindu University | Uttar Pradesh | 1994 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology;<br>BA Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Chhatrapati Shahu Ji Maharaj University | Uttar Pradesh | 1966 | BA Ancient Indian History, Culture & Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| University of Lucknow | Uttar Pradesh | 1921 | | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Dr Bhim Rao Ambedkar University | Uttar Pradesh | 1927 | | MA Ancient History & Archaeology/History/Culture |
| V B S Purvanchal University | Uttar Pradesh | 1987 | | MA Ancient History & Archaeology/History/Culture |
| Mahatma Jyotiba Phule Rohilkhand University | Uttar Pradesh | 1975 | | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| U P Rajarshi Tandon Open University | Uttar Pradesh | 1998 | | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Gurukul Kangri Vishwavidyalaya | Uttaranchal | 1962 | BA Archaeology | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology |
| Hemwati Nandan Bahuguna Garhwal University | Uttaranchal | 1973 | | MA Art/Archaeology |
| University of Calcutta | West Bengal | 1857 | | MA Ancient Indian History, Culture/Archaeology<br>MA Art/Archaeology<br>MA Museology |
| Visva-Bharati | West Bengal | 1951 | | |

Table 9: Archaeology degrees offered by Indian universities in 2006, listed by state (source: data compiled from AIU 2006)

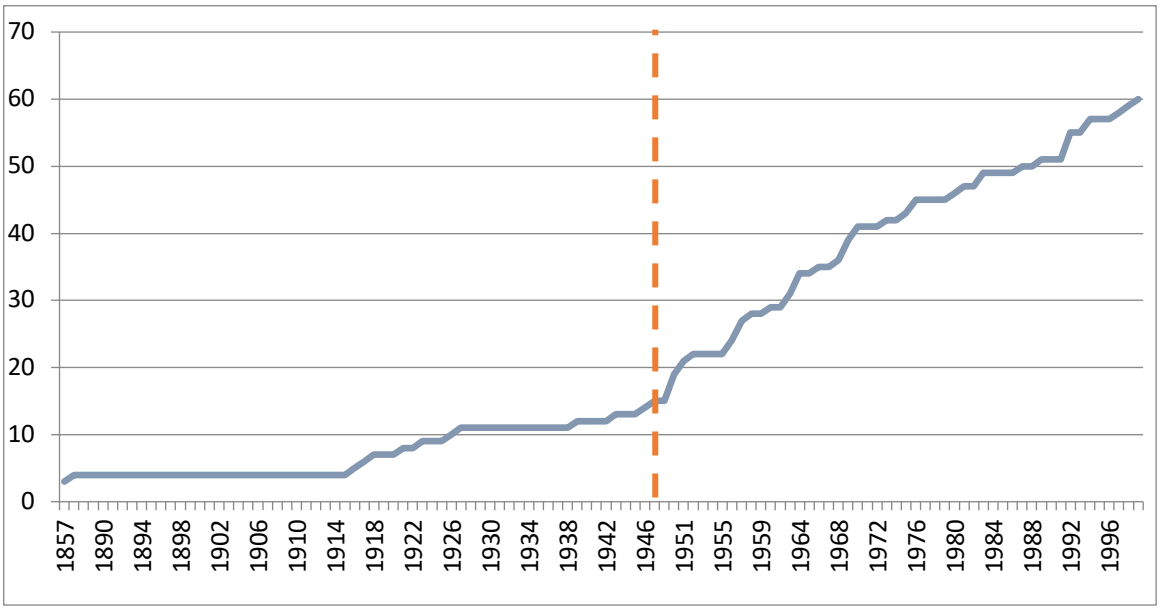



Figure 4: Founding dates of universities offering archaeology courses (source: data compiled from AIU 2006)

The founding dates for the universities offering archaeology courses are plotted in Figure 4, showing a marked increase in rate from independence in 1947 onwards.

The dates when archaeology began to be taught and on what scale relative to the founding of a university vary on a case-by-case basis. In many cases archaeology would be taught on a smaller scale in the history department before a full archaeology department was opened. For example the University of Calcutta was founded in 1857, began teaching archaeology in 1917, and established a full archaeology department in 1960 (Basak 2007, 333–334). MS University of Baroda and Banares Hindu University, founded in 1881 and 1916 respectively, both opened their archaeology departments in 1950 (MSUB 2016; BHU 2016). The University of Allahabad was established in 1887, carried out its first excavations in 1848, but only established a full archaeology department in 1955 (UA 2016).

Whether such a massive increase in universities and courses was actually good thing has been debated. On one hand, it can be argued that the number of teaching positions made suddenly available outstripped the number of quality staff available. Chatterjee has argued that this led to a weakening in the rigour and objectivity of historical work, resulting in a sufficient number of academics willing to allow their work to be used for right-wing activities (Chatterjee 2002, 16–17).

A significant increase in the volume of work and knowledge within Indian archaeology was nevertheless apparent:

> "Compared to what was done and known earlier the recent advances in Indian archaeology might look phenomenal. The reasons for this growth of knowledge are obvious. The government monopoly is no longer there. Apart from the activities of the reorganized Archaeological Survey, a number of Universities and research institutions have taken up the quest of discovering India's past. A welcome change befitting India's freedom from bondage had come. Hence this progress in archaeology."
>
> *(Sankalia 1974, 27)*

In order to compare the activity of the main stakeholders since independence, excavation data was extracted from the ASI annual reports *Indian Archaeology: A Review* for the 52 available seasons, these being 1953-54 to 2004-05. Over this period, the ASI, the state archaeology departments and the universities all participated to a significant level in excavations, as shown in Table 10 below.

| | ASI | State archaeology departments | Indian universities | Foreign institutions | Individuals |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Number of excavations** | 740 | 451 | 627 | 30 | 3 |
| **Proportion of excavations** | 40.0% | 24.4% | 33.9% | 1.6% | 0.2% |

Table 10: Number and proportion of excavations by stakeholders from 1953-2005.

The fact that state archaeology departments and universities together have accounted for over 58% of the excavations carried out since independence, shows how important they have become for Indian archaeology.

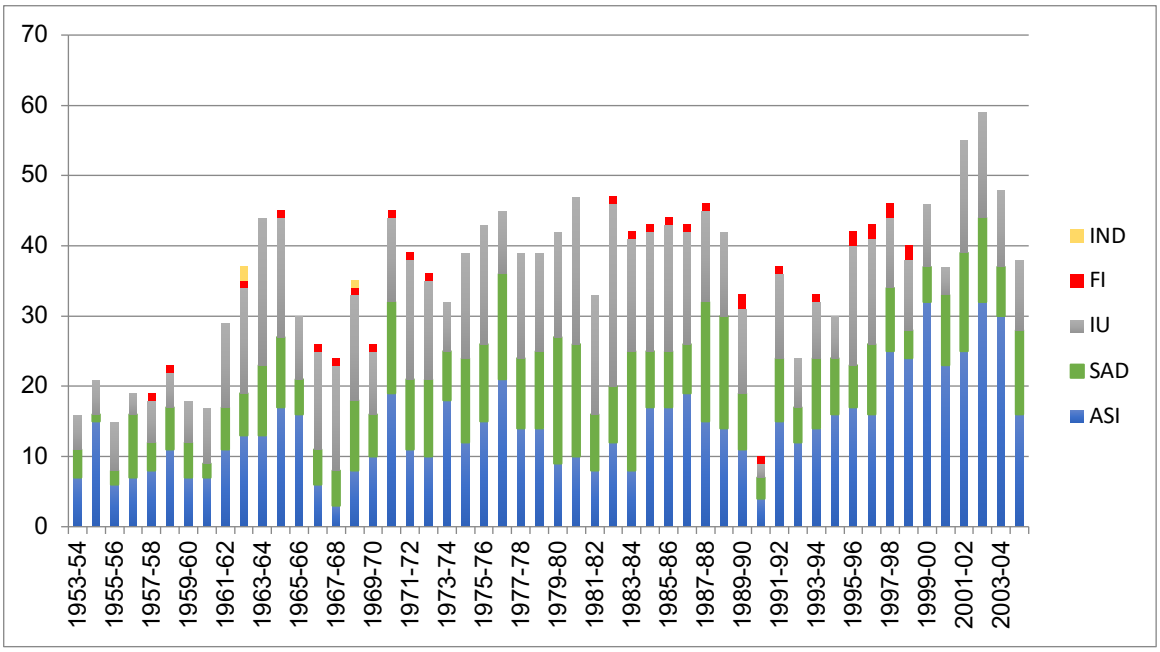



Figure 5: Excavations by stakeholders from 1953-2005.

As can be seen from Figure 5, there has been only a gradual increase in the number of excavations per season in India over the 52 years since independence. The rate of increase is much lower than one might expect given the rising number of universities and state departments. Possible contributing factors for this could be that the new universities have not yet had time to establish excavation programmes, and that the new archaeology departments tend to come from smaller states with less funding and potential sites. The dip in activity around the 1991-92 season is also interesting as it may be directly related to the Ayodhya incident.

Indian archaeology also took on its own theoretical framework following independence, both in reaction to the colonial era and also in an attempt to find interpretations that best suited the uniqueness of the Indian situation. Many educated Indians felt a dislocation during colonial rule as they were compelled to view themselves through the eyes of the Other, as described by Vatsyayan (2005, 45): “we began to look at ourselves as the vestiges of a dead past, the precious evidence of archaeology.” It was therefore seen as necessary within disciplines such as history and archaeology to become more objective (Chatterjee 2002, 7).

Indian archaeology thus developed an interest in post-processual approaches from the early 1960s, and was in many ways ahead of the West in this regard (Boivin et al. 2002, 191–192), for example in the work of S.C. Malik, which stressed the subjective and political nature of research (Malik 1973, 3).

Being careful to better interpret archaeological evidence within the overall context of India has also been stressed. Varma (1997, 3) has stressed that "our entire knowledge regarding settlement patterns, economic and social structures have been reconstructed on European evidence" while Mehta has emphasised the need for more localised interpretations (Mehta 1995, 2).

In India in particular, awareness of the political potential is very important, as it has been and continues to be co-opted for nationalist purposes. This is something that Wheeler himself was well aware of in the independent era:

> "In these days, when our arms are aching with the pulling down of Union Jacks, we are closing or restricting one by one those fields of action that have in the past been the making of the nation. In this narrowing horizon, the field of non-political, cultural action assumes a proportionately enhanced national and social importance."
>
> *(Wheeler 1966, 77)*

The importance of Indian archaeology from an international perspective became especially salient when the country ratified the UNESCO World Heritage Convention in 1972 (UNESCO 2016b). As is detailed later in section 3.2.17 of this thesis, the Convention brought the consideration of "outstanding universal value" to Indian sites, and required that the state ensure such sites' "identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations" (UNESCO 1972, §4). This thesis investigates ways in which the concept of "outstanding universal value" relates and sometimes conflicts with Indian perceptions of value, influenced for example by factors such as nationalism (detailed below) and others found through the surveys conducted in the case studies.

## 2.5 Nationalism in post-independence archaeology

It was the discovery of the Indus Civilization by Pandit Daya Ram Sanhi in 1920 that had first made a major difference to Indian perceptions of their own past in national terms:

> "... the discovery of the Indus civilization made India a respected member of the small number of lands that gave birth to true civilized life. In India, at least, the discipline of archaeology has served the country well, allowing it to take its rightful place as one of the oldest and most interesting regions of human endeavour"
>
> *(Paddayya 1995, 143).*

With partition in 1947 the main Indus sites of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro became part of Pakistan, so Indian archaeologists' attention was quickly focussed on finding further

examples of the civilization within their new borders in order not to lose this distinction. At the same time, Indian historians began to write their own works, which now tended to be anti-colonial in nature, with a priority of refuting British claims that India had always been a diverse collection of ethnic groups that could only be governed as a whole by outsiders, and that any evidence of highly developed civilization was the result of external influences. In order to portray the past as more indigenous, homogenous and independent, many new historians sought to show that it originated with an essentially Hindu culture. They continued to work with the periods defined by the British, emphasising that the Indian nation had begun with a golden age of Hinduism, and then later been oppressed and exploited by the Muslims and the British. While this began as an anti-colonial stance, it was also to be of great support for Hindu nationalists, and as Prakash (Prakash 1992, 360) points out, this perspective "… had and continues to have deadly implications for a multiethnic country such as India."

From independence onwards the Archaeological Survey of India (ASI) and a growing number of Indian university archaeology departments have produced a large body of excellent, scientifically-balanced work that has greatly enriched our knowledge of the both highly diverse and common history and prehistory of South Asia, a point that will be taken up again later in this chapter. At the same time however, various actors with more narrow nationalist aims have taken a much more selective and exclusive approach. While they are a minority, their voices are often heard the loudest because their well-publicised claims are aimed to coincide with major political or communal issues of the day, and being highly emotive, they often create "facts" that go unscrutinised by the wider public, what Prakash has termed "worlding the Third World" (Prakash 1992, 382).

As often follows the gaining of independence, the first targets were the immediately departed British, with many prominent colonial monuments being demolished (Rao 1994, 154). Another symbol of an earlier colonial period, the Somanatha temple in Gujarat had been destroyed in the 11$^{th}$ century in raid by the Muslim Mahmud of Ghazni. In 1951 its ruins were cleared despite the protests of historians and archaeologists, and a new temple was built as a statement of freedom from foreign rule. This was a nationalist project, undertaken in order to celebrate the founding of a new and predominantly Hindu state, and for this reason it was strongly opposed by Nehru (Thapar 2005, 189–190).

Despite Nehru's opposition, the communal focus on the past began to grow, with the main antagonist being the *Hindutva* movement. A central facet of Hindu nationalism is to portray India as culturally homogenous (i.e. Hindu), whereby anyone or anything that does not fit this definition is cast as illegitimate and inferior. Many strategies involving heritage have

been employed to achieve this, including attempting to claim the earliest occupation of the sub-continent, attacking "illegitimate" heritage sites and defending Hindu ones, misrepresenting the history of cultural interaction, and attempting to misinform the public through the media and school textbooks. In the following each of these approaches will be examined, both in terms of how they have been achieved, and what impact they have had on the stability of the Indian nation state.

The most well-known example of nationalist heritage destruction in India is that of Ayodhya in Uttar Pradesh, but this has been a major catalyst of similar events in other parts of India as well, and examples will be given from Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnataka.

Ayodhya is a town in the Faizabad district of Uttar Pradesh, with a population of around 75,000. Although identified today with the mythical city of the same name in the great epic poem the *Ramayana*, research has shown that the modern Ayodhya was given its name in the 5$^{th}$ century by the king Skanda Gupta, in order to gain political prestige (Gopal et al. 1990, 77). Since around the middle of the 19$^{th}$ century, a belief had begun to spread among some Hindus that the Babri Masjid (mosque) in Ayodhya had been built on top of a temple to the god Rama, on the very spot of his birth. In 1949 a group of local Hindus broke into the mosque and deposited Hindu idols, at which point the local magistrate had the mosque locked and made unavailable for worship. The situation remained tense but mostly uneventful for the next thirty years.

During this time, several archaeological investigations of Ayodhya and the surrounding area were made, including one in the 1970's by the eminent archaeologist B.B. Lal very near to the Babri Masjid, which uncovered little more than what appeared to be a section of a fortification (Lal 1983, 52), rousing little interest. This is significant, as Lal was dedicated to searching for evidence of the *Ramayana* epic, and as such would not simply ignore the potential discovery of one of its major locations.

By the 1980's the uneasy tension that had prevailed at the site was finally ignited by the communal tensions being stirred up by Indira Gandhi's administration, and in 1984 a movement known as the *Ram Janmabhumi* (Birthplace of Rama) campaign was started, with the aim of claiming the site for Hindus. This was supported by the VHP (Vishva Hindu Parishad, or 'World Hindu Council') and the RSS (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh, a paramilitary 'National Volunteer Organisation') and received a major boost when the BJP (the right-wing Bharatiya Janata Party) decided to actively support it in order to broaden their popularity. The decision to politicise the association of the mosque with Rama is not a random one. As Pollock (Pollock 1993, 282) has noted, the *Ramayana* is a text that

involves significant “demonization of the other,” and is therefore very suitable for stirring up communal tensions. This is something that the BJP has actively played upon, even producing travelling theatrical productions in which the BJP as Rama fights against rival parties in the form of the menacing and immoral Ravanna (Gillan 2003, 385). In 1985 the campaign began to demand that the mosque be demolished and a new temple to Rama be built in its place.

As Lal’s earlier excavations of the site had provided no evidence to support the temple claims, the VHP archaeologists proceeded to manufacture it. Suddenly in a right-wing Hindu magazine, Lal remembered having discovered what he considered to be burnt brick pillar bases during the excavations, though he had not considered this worth publishing at the time. These were now taken as evidence that a columned temple had once stood on the site. Later independent analysis of photographs of the trench in which Lal claimed to have found the pillar bases found that they were actually the remains of various walls of different, non-contemporaneous structural phases, and could not have been load-bearing structures (Mandal 2003). Despite this, Lal had made the following statement at a conference in 1988:

> “It is abundantly clear there did exist a twelfth-century temple at the site, which was destroyed and some parts incorporated in the body of the Babri Masjid.”
>
> *(Lal 2001, 125)*

Despite his adamant position, other than one photograph, Lal has never made the notebooks and sketches of his excavation available to other scholars so that his interpretation could be tested (Sharma 2001, 132), and has not come forward and testified in court at any point. Instead he later wrote that the evidence was “so eloquent that no further comments are necessary” (Lal 2008, 68). It is difficult to accept Lal’s explanation of events and not come to the conclusion that the structural elements he had previously thought insignificant suddenly became temple foundations only in order to manufacture support for the nationalists’ cause.

By 1990 the situation had become so hotly contested that the national government set up a commission of enquiry to determine once and for all whether a Hindu temple had ever been demolished in Ayodhya to build the mosque. To answer this question authoritatively, a subcommittee was formed of historians and archaeologists, half nominated by the VHP and half by the Muslim Babri Masjid Action Committee or BMAC (Rao 2006, 82).

In February of 1992 the BJP decided that it had waited long enough, and by including the rebuilding of the supposed Hindu temple in its election manifesto, and with a BJP

government now also in control of Uttar Pradesh, the fate of the Babri Masjid was effectively sealed. By July 1991 land had been acquired around the mosque, and preparation of the surrounding area for construction began. In June of 1992, these levelling activities led to the discovery by VHP workmen of a large pit filled with stone sculptures 3 metres below the surface, which were claimed to have come from a Hindu temple (Sharma et al. 1992, 1) and an area of walls and brick floors, claimed to be from a very large structure pre-dating Islamic occupation, which had clearly been demolished (Sharma et al. 1992, 11), almost too perfectly proving the temple destruction theory. The big problem with these new discoveries, was that they were not excavated by archaeologists, so that their stratigraphic and cultural contexts were not recorded, they were never properly documented, and many of the objects have never actually been seen by anyone else. Independently analysing the information available on the stone sculptures, Mandal concluded that they could not be dated to the period of the postulated temple because their stratigraphic locations were not recorded, and the wide range of weathering patterns on the various objects indicated that they actually came from a range of locations and periods (Mandal 2003, 45).

The final meeting of VHP and BMAC historians and archaeologists took place on December 5th 1992. Against a background of over 100,000 VHP *kar sevaks* (holy volunteers) converging on Ayodhya, the BMAC protested that this made the meeting pointless, and it broke up because relations between the two sides had become too hostile (Rao 2006, 99). On the 6th of December the *kar sevaks,* ignoring security forces, stormed the Masjid and within hours it had been totally demolished and Hindu idols were placed on the site (Rao 2006, 156), an event that sparked off communal violence in which over two thousand people were killed.

In the days following the demolition, the national press reported that large stone objects and other remains indicative of a Hindu temple had been recovered from below the mosque, as though these were archaeological fact. As Ratnagar has commented (2003, 70): “… they have gone so far as to claim that an act of mob violence and the destruction of a five-century old structure amount to a valid retrieval of archaeological evidence!"

In 2002, the ASI was instructed by a High Court order to investigate the site once more, in order to definitively answer the question of whether a temple had once been demolished below the mosque. The site was then excavated by the ASI over a six-month period in 2003. Independent observers of the excavations reported that correct archaeological standards and procedures were not followed (Mandal et al. 2007, 29). In the end, the report concluded only that a “huge structure” had been located and dated to the 11th-12th century,

indirectly insinuating that this was a temple. Once again, independent analysis of the excavation report and methods concluded that there was no logic in this conclusion, and that there was no evidence of demolition in the 16th century, "but of vandalism in the twentieth century" (Mandal et al. 2007, 129–131). Essentially, the ASI report was seen as a whitewash aimed at supporting *Hindutva* claims behind a pretence of scientific objectivity: "The rhetoric of finding proof through archaeology offers means of foreclosing dissent by invoking the authority of performing 'science'" (Guha 2005, 422). By allowing events to get to the stage where the mosque was destroyed, and then by allowing the ASI to produce a heavily biased report, the Indian government clearly no longer stood so firmly behind Nehru's "secular and non-communal ideal."

Because events surrounding the Ayodhya demolition were so explosive and had so much news coverage, outside of India one could be forgiven for believing it to be a unique, if disturbing occurrence. This is not the case however, and other Indian heritage sites have in turn become the targets of right wing nationalism, following the lead of events in Ayodhya.

Since its founding in 1964, the VHP had created a long list of sites (mostly mosques) in India that they believed had either been built over Hindu temples (Brass 1995, 241), or were offensive to Hindus in some other way. Hindu nationalists also worked to prepare the public by deliberately misrepresenting the number of cases where Hindu temples had been destroyed in order for mosques to be built in the past. B. B. Lal has written of "hundreds of examples, all over the country" (Lal 2008, 66), while Goel lists over 2,000 Muslim monuments that he claims "stand on the site and/or are built from materials of deliberately demolished Hindu temples" (Goel 1990, 62), as a result of "large scale destruction" by "Islamised invaders" (Goel 1990, vii). The numbers have been further inflated to 30,000 in the political rhetoric of VHP leader Pravin Togadia (Mahaprashasta 2009). These assertions have been refuted by Eaton, who shows that temple destruction was very seldom for religious purposes but was rather a facet of state-building, whereby it was part of the process of erasing the authority of a defeated Hindu ruler, and was also practiced in Hindu-Hindu conflict (Eaton 2000, 104–107). He is only able to identify 80 known cases of temple desecration between 1192 and 1760 (Eaton 2000, 128–131).

This is essentially a process of deliberately planting fake historical facts and memories in the minds of the public, and unfortunately the *Hindutva* message has been repeated much more frequently than it has been refuted in the media. A result of this is that many *kar sevaks* have pledged to reclaim thousands of sites (Bayly 1993, 12), all that is needed is

for the right degree of communal tension to exist, and any of the sites on the VHP list could fall victim.

This is what happened in Gujarat on the 27th of February 2002 when a large group of VHP *kar sevaks* were returning by train from Ayodhya, where they had been continuing to agitate for a temple to be built on the now levelled site. There had been a series of communal clashes between the *kar sevaks* and Muslims as they travelled through the town of Godhra, and a rumour spread that they had kidnapped two Muslim women, causing the emergency brake on the train to be pulled. A mob of angry Muslims attacked the carriage that the activists were riding in and it was set alight. Within an hour 59 people from the train were dead (Swami 2002). Over the next month, communal violence flared in the state, with an official death toll of 850, unofficially estimated to be as high as 2000 (Human Rights Watch 2002, 4).

During this period of communal violence religious and cultural heritage sites were also systematically targeted, with 298 dargahs, 205 mosques, 17 temples, and three churches being either damaged or destroyed within two months (Pandey 2002). This was a carefully planned and well-resourced operation:

> "The famous 500-year-old masjid in Isanpur, which was an ASI monument, was destroyed with the help of cranes and bulldozers. The famous Urdu Poet Wali Gujarati's dargah was also razed to the ground at Shahibaug in Ahmedabad. While a *hanuman* [a Hindu god] shrine was built over its debris initially, all that was removed overnight and the plot was [paved] and merged with the adjoining road."
>
> *(Chenoy et al. 2002).*

It is clear that the BJP government was very much responsible for the violence, as it stopped abruptly at the border with Madhya Pradesh where the Congress state government in contrast went to great lengths to prevent it (Baviskar 2005, 5106). These are not the only nationalist events related to heritage that have occurred in Gujarat since Ayodhya. The state has had a BJP government since 1995, and the Chief Minister up to 2014, Narendra Modi, was notorious for stirring up communal conflict. In such a climate, right-wing nationalism continues to be directed at heritage, with even an important World Heritage site under threat. Located in ever-volatile Godhra, Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park received World Heritage status in 2004. An important aspect of the site is that it contains a mixture of Hindu and Muslim elements, and as an early Islamic, pre-Mughal city, it exhibits a unique blend and transition between the two traditions (UNESCO 2004a, 28). Almost all of the Muslim families living at Champaner left following the 2002 riots (Sreenivas 2004), and the Gujarat government upset the Islamic Relief

Committee in 2004 by producing brochures for the annual Navratri festival which listed all of the monuments in the park other than the Muslim shrines (Sreenivas 2004). The state government is attempting to promote the multicultural nature of the region in a belated attempt to look good despite its complicity in the 2002 riots, but such omissions still occur, and especially syncretic places of worship are ignored, as these contradict the *Hindutva* notion of a natural state of conflict between the religions. The situation has also been greatly exasperated by a local BJP politician. Complaining that the site showcases more Muslim monuments than Hindu ones, and leveraging community dissatisfaction with building restrictions, he has begun agitating to have World Heritage status removed from the site (Khan 2007), a move that is feared would lead to a loss of protection for the site, and the eventual destruction of the Muslim sections of it (Abdi 2007). At the same time in nearby Vadodara the authorities have recently displayed open disregard for Muslim heritage during road construction by destroying part of a medieval Muslim graveyard containing the grave of a prominent Sufi, on the grounds that it was "encroaching on public land" (Westcoat 2007, 59).

Even highly prominent politicians in Gujarat have been active in asserting a Hindu ownership of the past. For example in 2003, while he was state Minister for Science and Technology Murli Manohar Joshi claimed evidence of a 9,500 year old Hindu civilization had been discovered in the Gulf of Cambay (Venkatesh et al. 2003). So far his discovery has only received support from Graham Hancock and received no further attention, but it demonstrated the nationalist leaning of Modi's government.

Karnataka is another state in which the methods of leveraging heritage as a communal issue used at Ayodhya have been sought to be redeployed. In this case, a Sufi shrine in the Western Ghats, the Guru Dattatreya Baba Budangiri Swamy dargah, is already being compared to the Babri Masjid in the media. Although controlled by Muslims, the shrine is syncretic in nature, and is also used by Hindu worshippers of an incarnation of Shiva known as Dattatreya, who have been peaceably allowed joint access to the shrine for their rituals for centuries. The VHP has been campaigning to "liberate" the shrine for several years, and in 2003 the BJP ominously became involved, with local party leaders going so far as to publicly state that they intended to turn the issue into "another Ayodhya", and vowing to "repeat Gujarat" (Srikanth 2003).

The strategy employed at Ayodhya has been carefully replicated here, with *Hindutva* propaganda attempting to win over the media and popular opinion. As in Ayodhya where the Babri Masjid came to be known more popularly as "Ramjanambhoomi", so the shrine's historical Muslim name of "Bababudangiri" is being replaced with the Hindu "Dattareya

Peeta" (Taneja 2006). In order to further stoke local tensions, *kar sevaks* have been brought in from across the country for rallies, with one annually timed to coincide provocatively with the December 6th demolition of the Babri Masjid (Srikanth 2003). The political nature of the movement is more than apparent in the way that things flare up most in the run-up to elections, and many expect things to come to a head eventually: "The silence is eerie, however, and with a BJP government in power, pregnant" (Srinivasaraju 2009). The first signs of this happening may be recent moves by the BJP to renovate the site according to Hindu requirements, in full contravention of a Supreme Court order (Sayeed 2009).

Activists in Maharashtra have also sought to follow the Ayodhya model, as during the lead up to an election campaign in the town of Pratapgarh in 2004. Targeting the tomb of the 17th century Muslim general Afzal Khan, the VHP organised a protest against buildings being built around the site by the Muslim charitable trust that manages the site. With *kar sevaks* brought in from other areas, around 1,200 protesters marched towards the site, encouraged by inflammatory rhetoric, with one local BJP leader for example being quoted as saying "… Why is the government supporting a trust which looks after an enemy's tomb?" (Katakam 2004). The protest turned violent when finally stopped by police, and in the end 250 people were arrested. While the official aim was to remove "illegal" structures around the tomb, there can be little doubt as to what would have happened without police intervention, as stated by one VHP member: "… We would have done it with our own hands, like Babri Masjid, what did we have then in our hands?" (Menon 2004).

Despite the fact that the above events in Gujarat, Karnataka and Maharashtra all represent a clear continuation of *Hindutva* tactics deployed in Ayodhya, it has in recent years become common to hear that the right-wing threat posed by the BJP and *Hindutva* has been greatly lessened for the foreseeable future. This is largely based on the fact that once in power, the BJP has adopted more centrist policies, for example by withdrawing its calls for the building of a temple at Ayodhya. The fact that it then also lost the federal elections in 2004 was seen as demonstrating a change of heart by the electorate following the Gujarat riots, which would force the party to maintain a more moderate stance if it were to stand a chance of re-election in future. All indicators however point towards this move to the centre as being a matter of temporary expediency only, and that in fact the right-wing agenda is still being pursued with determination and mounting momentum.

The issues which led to the BJP being voted out of power in 2004 were not resolved by that action. Most obviously, those responsible for the destruction of the Babri Masjid for the ensuing violence, and for the later Gujarat riots were never brought to justice, and

there are thus large numbers of right-wing sympathisers who know through experience that they can take the law into their own hands without the threat of punishment and can be called upon again in future and the influence of *Hindutva* has become deeply embedded in many state institutions. Thus while the BJP itself appeared on the back foot during its time in opposition from 2004 to 2013, the RSS itself actually expanded due to this foundation (ToI 2009a). The continued trajectory of the Sang Parivar has been demonstrated by elements within it being linked to recent terrorist attacks, such as those in Goa in 2009. The BJP government that won power in 2014 under Modi has now ushered in what has been described "an ideological transformation of the Indian state", or "Hindutva 2.0" (Happymon 2017). This chapter mainly reviews the events up to April 2015, as only these are relevant for interpreting the results of the fieldwork, which was completed before to that date.

At the same time, *Hindutva* politics deemed inexpedient for the BJP have been expressed outside of it. For example the former Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh Kalyan Singh (who was head of the state government when the Ayodhya demolition took place) started his own right-wing party, "that will espouse the ideology of *Hindutva,* cultural nationalism, social justice, social harmony and development" (The Indian Express 2009). The BJP itself has in turn continued to stir communal tensions when absolutely necessary to keep things on track, such as by briefly promoting the Ayodhya temple project in the hopes of influencing the recent Allahabad High Court verdict.

The greatest evidence that the ideology of *Hindutva* has become internalised by the state is the way that the Ayodhya case was handled. Determining final responsibility for the events at Ayodhya was assigned to a commission, which then took 17 years (including 48 extensions) to produce a report that was finally submitted to the government in June of 2009 (ToI 2009b). This was followed by a judgement of the Allahabad High Court in September of 2010, which determined that the site should be divided into three parts among Hindus, the Nirmohl Akhara Hindu sect, and Muslims. The judges accepted the ASI report, completely ignoring all evidence to the contrary that had been submitted by independent parties:

> "The disputed structure was constructed on the site of the old structure after demolition of the same. The Archaeological Survey of India has proved that the structure was a massive Hindu religious structure."
>
> *(Sharma 2010)*

They also accepted the *Hindutva* view that the site is the birthplace of Ram:

> "The area covered under the central dome of the disputed structure is the birthplace of Lord Rama as per faith and belief of Hindus."
>
> *(Agarwal 2010)*

While the above ruling is certain to be taken to the Supreme Court by one or more of the parties, it is already certain to have wide-reaching consequences. Writing in 2003, Kesavan predicted that were such a verdict to be delivered, then "imperceptibly, India would become another country" (Kesavan 2003, 67), and this may turn out to be an understatement. A legal precedent has now been set by which the religious beliefs of one community have been seen as sufficient in order to claim land from another group. The result of this will surely be a massive increase in the number of claims being made by Hindu groups throughout India. It will also greatly embolden Hindu nationalists overall, as was shown by immediate demands being made by the BJP that the Muslims relinquish their one-third share of the Ayodhya site.

In parallel to these events at major sites, the philosophy of *Hindutva* has also been systematically promoted within academia, with many scholars advancing nationalist theories arguing for indigenous origins of Hindu culture. At the centre of these theories is the Aryan race issue, where it is not so much the case that "… nothing less than the origin of Indian civilization is at stake" (Danino 2003, 21), but that nothing less than the *ownership* of Indian civilization is. The idea of an "Aryan" heritage in India goes back to the research of Max Müller, who had proposed a homeland in Central Asia for the Aryans, who then spread to Europe and South Asia in two separate migrations, and introduced Vedic or Hindu culture to India (Müller 1883, 95). In part, this theory has a strong attraction for Hindu nationalists, as claiming Hindu and Aryan culture to be the same thing effectively separates Hindus from all other people in India. The idea that the Aryans were invaders however is strongly refuted, as this would reduce the strength of claims to indigeneity, placing Hindus in the same category as Muslims and Christians as immigrants. The preferred version of the Aryan theory improves Hindu self-esteem and legitimises the social status of upper-caste Hindus, and it also installs Hindus as "the inheritors of the land since the beginning of History" (Thapar 2000, 15), with all others as alien. At the extreme, in the same way that Nazi treatment of the Jews was "theoretically excused" through creating the distinction of Aryans and Semites, so now the mistreatment and exclusion of other groups in India – *e.g.* Muslims, Sikhs, Christians and tribal peoples is also excused (Thapar 1996, 10).

One strategy employed in establishing this position is to identify Hindus with the earliest known advanced culture in India, the Indus Civilization, which is best known for the sites

of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro. By claiming continuity of a Vedic culture from the Indus Civilization to modern Hinduism, essentially a "foundational myth" (Guha 2005, 418), any share of this prestige is denied to other groups in India. Archaeologists have become involved in this in a number of ways. Often this involves making a wide range of comparisons of what is known of Indus culture to aspects of modern Hindu culture, seeking similarities such as methods of farming, arts and crafts and household items, and using examples from vastly different geographical locations and timescales to make arguments which are both tenuous yet at the same time difficult to refute (Guha 2005, 415). The theories ignore the fact that even without full continuity these aspects of culture are naturally diffusive and would have been picked up by neighbouring groups through trade and intermingling anyway. The fact that many of the tribal cultures in India as well as those of neighbouring regions seem to have retained aspects of Indus-like material culture with greater fidelity is conveniently ignored (Thapar 1996, 21).

Many methods have been used in attempts to prove the Vedic character of the Indus civilisation. These have included attempting to demonstrate the presence of horses by Jha and Rajaram (2000), later demonstrated to have been achieved through computer manipulation of images on Indus seals (Witzel et al. 2000, 6). Well over a thousand publications on the Indus symbols have been published (Possehl 1996, 76), along with over 50 decipherment attempts (Misra 1992, 12), most of which aim to prove that the symbols represent Sanskrit language. This is despite solid linguistic and archaeological work demonstrating late Vedic did not appear until two millennia after the height of the Indus Civilization, and that the symbol system is more likely "a relatively simple system of religious-political signs that could be reinterpreted in any language" (Farmer et al. 2004). B. B. Lal has in turn tried to make up for the lack of physical evidence for written language by arguing that two small pieces of terracotta with no markings on them are highly likely to be writing tablets, based on a comparison with the wooden *takhīs* used until recently in Indian schools (Lal 2002, 135).

*Hindutva scholars* have also aimed to prove that the Saraswati river mentioned throughout the *Rigveda* was in fact located in India, with B.B. Lal making the case based on two verses of the epic poem that it must actually have flowed through India and right past the famous Indus Civilization site of Harappa, on its way out to the Arabian Sea (Lal 2002, 15). Once again Lal is willing to overstate the importance of weak evidence, in this case by claiming that the *Rigveda* is a source of incontrovertible evidence, and he defends the position by labelling any who disagree as (anti-Hindu) bigots:

> "Can we afford to ignore the categorical evidence provided by these two adjacent verses? **Surely not, unless we blindfold ourselves under a spell of bigotry.**"
>
> *(Lal 2002, 11; the bold type is Lal's)*

The theory nevertheless gained official sanction under a BJP-led government in 2003, with the creation of the Saraswati Heritage Project, which was given a huge budget and placed under the ASI (Guha 2005, 418). However, once the BJP was out of power the new government carried out a review of the ASI's work, and in 2006 the Parliamentary Standing Committee on Transport, Tourism and Culture reported that the ASI had failed to follow correct processes in choosing sites for excavation. Pointing out that the project was extremely pro-Hindu, they stated regret that so many resources had been used "… just to excavate a mythological river whereas, several other monuments/heritage sites of national importance are languishing due to acute shortage of funds", and the budget for the project was subsequently slashed (Chhibber 2006). Similarly to many commentators on Ayodhya, the committee expressed serious concern that right-wing considerations had led members of the ASI to compromise the scientific integrity of the project:

> "The ASI is the custodian of the rich cultural heritage and as such its role to safeguard the cultural fabric of the country is of crucial national importance. Therefore, the committee reiterates that before undertaking any excavation of any such mythological projects like the Saraswati Heritage Project, the ASI should make proper scientific and technical appraisal and no extraneous factors should go into the decision-making."
>
> *(Chhibber 2006)*

Tellingly, the number of works thus seeking to prove an indigenous origin for Hindu culture has grown in parallel to the BJP and the Ayodhya movement, openly seeking to reinforce a popular political paradigm, rather than through any direct relation to newly discovered evidence.

In addition to the academic world, the *Hindutva* perspective has also been pushed within the Indian education system. While the BJP was in power between 1998 and 2004, the National Council of Educational Research and Training (NCERT) produced new history textbooks for schools that contained "appropriate rewritings" and deleted many sections from earlier ones. Similarly the Indian Council of Historical Research (ICHR) was "overhauled" and given a new agenda and staff in line with nationalist priorities (Sen 2005, 63). A major aspect of this was once again the focus on Hindu cultural continuity – the Indus Civilisation was renamed the "Indus-Saraswati Civilization" in textbooks, and

developments in mathematics, philosophy and science were given much earlier, Vedic origins:

> ”Such untruths have been the staple diet upon which the cadre of the Sangh Parivar has been brought up. But then, to introduce such false statements into the school curriculum is indeed a dangerous proposition. The havoc that indifferent scholarship combining with a distorting ideology could cause in school education is all too apparent.”
>
> *(The Hindu 2002)*

Most of these changes were reversed when the BJP lost its majority in the national elections, and the new NCERT text books have for the most part been highly regarded. There have been some cases where the same issues continue however, such as the class 11 textbook *Ancient India* by Makkhan Lal, which still contained over 137 historically incorrect assertions and errors (Habib et al. 2003, 27–57). The Hindu bias in the curriculum also continues in BJP ruled states such as Himachal Pradesh, where for example a chapter on the Muslim painter M. F. Husain (who had controversially portrayed Hindu goddesses in the nude) has been removed from textbooks (Phull 2010).

When Hindu nationalist content was removed from the national school programme, other ways to influence children’s education were sought. For example, the BJP had increased the amount of Sanskrit and Vedic literature taught in schools, which was then reduced again once they lost power in favour of a more multicultural curriculum. The response of *Hindutva* was to establish Sanskrit summer camps. In a *Washington Post* article, an interview with a 19-year-old camp attendee confirmed the success of the scheme: "… when I study Sanskrit, I learn who I am. It is my identity” (Lakshmi 2008).

The aim of shaping education to conform to *Hindutva* ideology is not being limited to India. During a review of textbooks to be used in Californian 6$^{th}$ grade classes in 2006, several US organizations including the Hindu Education Foundation demanded changes to sections of the textbooks that did not show Hinduism in a positive light, or that discussed theories of an Aryan migration into India rather than cultural continuity of Vedic culture (Baldauf 2006). The situation went to court, with the Hindutva claims eventually being thrown out in June of 2009 (Walsh 2009). Several expatriate organisations have also become extremely vigilant in defending conservative Hindu interests in the United Kingdom. M. F. Hussain was again the target when the two groups known as the Hindu Forum of Britain and Hindu Human Rights forced an exhibition of his works in London to close in 2006, with protests that threatened to turn violent. This followed a 2005 campaign

that forced the Royal Mail to withdraw a Christmas stamp featuring a Hinduised family, which was claimed to be culturally insensitive (Zavos 2008).

As can be seen from the examples listed above, an overall aim of Hindu nationalism is to create a large body of literature that emphasises the continuity of Hindu culture in India from the earliest times and denigrates the contribution of other cultures. It is as if once this body of work is in place, it will be possible to simply ignore the work and claims to the contrary of mainstream heritage academics. This is something that Possehl (1996, 168) has noted in regard to decipherment research on the Indus symbol system, where while not all, but much of the work is following a nationalist agenda: "… researchers barrel ahead in their own directions, showing little evidence that they can, or even care to, draw on the work of their colleagues." Thapar (2000, 16) has commented on the same thing: "Dogmatic assertions with no space for alternative ideas often arise from a sense of inferiority and the fear of debate. Hence the determination to prevent the publication of volumes on history which do not conform to Hindutva ideology." Often the work of researchers who work within frameworks and models that are established within their disciplines, and with the consensus of international colleagues, are described as neo-colonialists, elitists, hypocrites, right-wing Christians, bigots and extremists, without seriously attempting to rebut their academic arguments. This can also turn violent, as in January of 2004 when protests against a book by US academic James Laine on the 18th century Hindu ruler Shivaji ended with the storming of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute in Pune. Hindu activists ransacked the archives, destroying and damaging hundreds of rare manuscripts in retaliation for the institute having allowed Laine to conduct research there, forcing Oxford University Press to withdraw the book from the Indian market (Suroor 2004) and the Maharashtra state government to ban it completely, until the Supreme Court finally lifted the ban in 2010 (ToI 2010).

There is considerable concern within mainstream Indian archaeology about the activities of these fringe nationalist researchers, who often come from unrelated backgrounds and yet publish prolifically on archaeological and historical "facts" that back up Hindu nationalist agendas. This was summarised by D.P. Agrawal in his address to a major Indian archaeology conference at the start of the new millennium:

> I would like to express my fears about the neophyte archaeologists. With these newly converted friends of Indian archaeology, it does not need any enemies. Their over-zealous but misinformed efforts are not only befuddling the issues, but are diverting the efforts in the wrong directions.
>
> *(Agarwal 2001, 15)*

The potential for nationalism stoked by bias within academia to lead to serious political disruption in India has been further discussed elsewhere by this author (Hole 2013).

Both local and international heritage academics have not only the ability but also a vital responsibility to redress the misrepresentation of the past for political means in India. Research carried out with the aim of gaining a clear understanding of the highly diverse and interwoven roles that all groups living in South Asia have played as part of their common history has the potential to offset right-wing nationalist misinformation, and to assist in creating a higher level of cohesion between the various national minorities of the Indian nation state. That an academic discipline such as archaeology can have a pivotal role is not unrealistic, for as Amartya Sen has written, the "deepest weakness of contemporary Hindu politics lies, however, in its reliance on ignorance at different levels" (Sen 1993, 22). This is exactly the kind of development that Paddayya has stressed as most necessary in reference to the 1992 events at Ayodhya:

> "…a more mature response requires that, instead of bewailing this legacy of British scholarship, Indians take concrete steps to educate society about the past. Precious little has been done over the last forty-five years. The result is the indiscriminate use of the past by interested groups for their own ends… A non-partisan understanding of the past on the part of the ordinary citizen, and his/her ability to appreciate the universality of human culture… are the best insurance against any abuse of the past."
>
> *(Paddayya 1995, 141–142)*

# 3 Indian Heritage Legislation

## 3.1 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the legislation relevant to heritage and archaeology in India. It does this by tracking the development of the legislation and associated issues through time from pre-colonial times to the present day. A summary is then given of how legislation influences both archaeological practice and the public experience of archaeology.

## 3.2 Legislation overview

A range of legislation and government policy with the aim of protecting archaeological heritage in India has been produced since the early 19th century, constantly evolving to match local and international conditions and trends. Table 11 and Table 12 below list the relevant national and international legislation, followed by a detailed explanation of each item in the context of its time.

| Year | No. | Name of Act/Resolution | In force | Focus |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1810 | 19 | Bengal Regulation | 1810-1863 | Protects public buildings |
| 1817 | 7 | Madras Regulation | 1817-1863 | Protects public buildings |
| 1863 | 20 | The Religious Endowments Act | 1863-now | Protects public and private buildings |
| | | Public Works Department Code | | |
| 1878 | 6 | Indian Treasure Trove Act | 1878-now | Protects and preserves treasure found accidentally |
| 1881 | 1–30-42 | Resolution of 12th August 1881 | - | Appoints Curator of Ancient Monuments for 3 years |
| 1882 | 3–167-181 | Resolution of 8th November 1882 | - | Regulates deposit of finds in museums, in-situ preservation |
| 1883 | 1–58-71 | Resolution of 8th June 1883 | - | Regulates in-situ preservation |
| 1889 | 24–4-2 | Government of India Resolution of 28 March 1889 | - | |
| 1904 | 7 | Ancient Monuments Preservation Act | 1904-now | |
| 1947 | 31 | The Antiquities Export Control Act | 1947-1972 | Regulates export of Antiquities |
| 1951 | 71 | The Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act | 1951-1958 | Declares monuments to be of national importance |
| 1950 | - | Constitution of India | 1950-now | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1958 | 24 | Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | 1958-now | |
| 1972 | 52 | Antiquities and Art Treasures Act | 1972-now | Regulates the export trade in antiquities and art treasures. |
| 2010 | 10 | Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment and Validation) Act | 2010-now | |

Table 11: Overview of Indian heritage legislation

| Date | Title | Ratified/endorsed by India |
|---|---|---|
| 1954 | UNESCO Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, incl. First Protocol | 14 May 1954 |
| 1970 | UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property | 24 January 1977 |
| 1972 | UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage | 16 November 1972 |
| 1977 | ICRC Geneva Conventions, Second Protocol | Not ratified |
| 1995 | UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects | Not ratified |
| 1999 | UNESCO Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict: Second Protocol | Not ratified |
| 2001 | UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage | Not ratified |
| 2003 | UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage | 17 October 2003 |
| 2005 | UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions | 20 October 2005 |

Table 12: Overview of international heritage legislation relevant to India (source of ratification dates: UNESCO 2016b).

### 3.2.1 Bengal Regulation XIX of 1810

The "Bengal Charitable Endowments, Public Buildings and Escheats Regulation", passed on December 12th, 1810, was the first government legislation specifically for the protection of heritage. The act was to ensure that income destined for the upkeep of public buildings was indeed used for that purpose and not otherwise diverted, stating that:

> "A regulation for the due appropriation of the rents and produce of lands granted for the support of [mosques, Hindu temples,] colleges and other purposes; for the maintenance and repair of [bridges, Sarais, Kattras and other] public buildings; and for the custody and disposal of nazul property or escheats."
>
> *(Iyer 1905, 152)*

Through this act the museum of the Asiatic Society also effectively became government property (Waterhouse 1882).

### 3.2.2 Madras Regulation VII of 1817

Based almost word for word on the Bengal regulation, the focus of the Madras regulation was especially on ensuring that funds set aside for the maintenance of temples were not misappropriated by individuals (Iyer 1905, 154).

The idea that buried or ruined archaeological sites would also require protection had not occurred to the framers of the two acts, as for example the destruction of numerous stupas by Ventura, Gerrard and Honigberger described in the previous chapter was not to take place until the 1830s. While certainly protecting heritage buildings, both of these acts focused more on their current uses for the public, rather than their archaeological value, as in the following common section:

> "Duty is imposed on the Board to submit their opinion as to the most expedient mode of disposing of public edifices in 2 cases:–(1) when the public edifices have fallen to decay and cannot be conveniently repaired; or (2) when the public edifices have fallen to decay and are not calculated, if repaired, to afford any material accommodation i.e., use, or enjoyment or convenience to the public."
>
> *(Iyer 1905, 167)*

Despite this, the success of the acts in supporting heritage buildings still in use was evidenced in the *Calcutta Review* in 1852:

> "Idolatry *received new strength* and its services were rendered efficient and attractive. The income of temples and pagodas was carefully spent; the buildings were kept in good repair… Formerly, the whole system was in a state of decay, but, under English superintendence, it every where revived. Formerly, the endowment-lands were ill-managed and proved unprofitable: on this account such large estates were brought under the Collector's charge; but, under Government, private peculation was prevented, the cultivators were well treated, the income was improved and rendered sure."
>
> *(Calcutta Review 1852, 149)*

A foreboding of things to come is however contained several lines later in the same article, where the colonial Christian beliefs of the authors are exposed:

> "What could have more fully proved the erroneous position which the Government was occupying? Is it their duty to sustain idolatry? If false religions cannot sustain themselves, the sooner they die away the better."
>
> *(Calcutta Review 1852, 149)*

The roots of this sentiment coincidentally went back to around the same time that the Bengal and Madras acts were brought into force, when the East India Company renewed its charter in 1813, and among the conditions they were reluctantly forced to allow Christian missions to operate in India (Keay 2010, 428). This was especially due to the influence of the evangelical Clapham Sect, who had significant influence on Government and Company policy in India due to members such as William Wilberforce, active in the English parliament between 1784-1812, John Shore and William Bentinck, Governors-General of India between 1793-1797 and 1828-35 respectively, and Charles Grant, a director and chairman of the Company from 1794-1823 (Spring 1961, 36).

An example of this influence is provided by the ancient temple of Jagannath at Puri in Orissa for example, constructed in 1112 CE by the Ganga King Anantavarmana Chodaganga Deva, which had always been a highly popular destination for pilgrimage and tourism (Patnaik 2007, 98). Falling under the territory of the Madras Presidency at the time, the government ensured that the temple was well funded and maintained by raising a pilgrim tax. The missionary groups however launched a concerted agitation, especially enlisting the support of the English public, eventually forcing the abolition of the tax with the government handing responsibility for the temple over to the Raja of Koordah in 1840 (Iyer 1905, 168).

### 3.2.3 The Religious Endowments Act of 1863

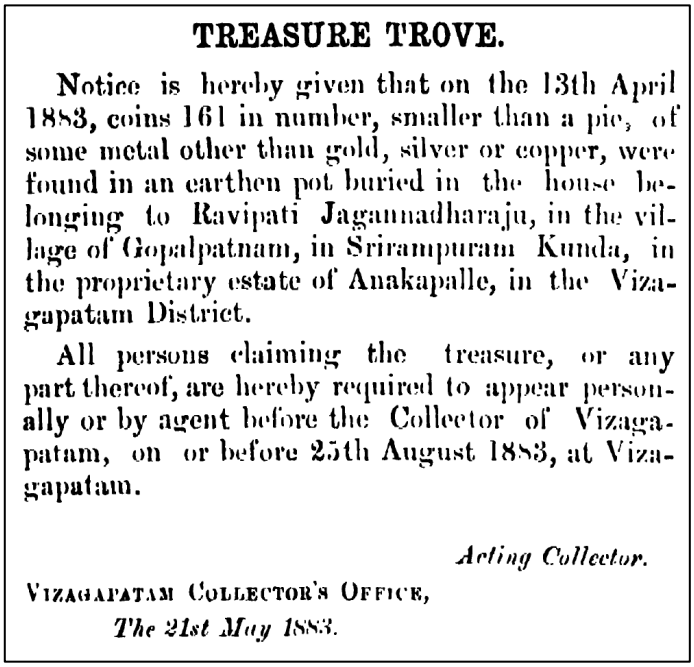
This agitation culminated in the Religious Endowments Act of 1863, which repealed the sections of the Bengal and Madras acts with regard to managing financial support for the temples and mosques that the missionaries were opposed to (Iyer 1905, 1). While other kinds of monuments of public use were still covered, this nonetheless represented a significant weakening of protection for built cultural heritage at the time.

### 3.2.4 The Indian Treasure Trove Act of 1878

In order to address the protection of smaller, moveable archaeological objects, the Indian Treasure Trove Act was enacted in 1878, and is still in force with only minor modifications. The act begins with the following definitions:

> "treasure" means anything of any value hidden in the soil, or in anything affixed thereto:
>
> "collector" means (1) any Revenue-officer in independent charge of a district, and (2) any officer appointed by the Provincial Government to perform the functions of a Collector under this Act.
>
> *(Gov. India 1878, §3)*

According to the act, the finder of treasure in value of more than ten rupees must inform the Collector in writing as soon as practicable of what it is and where and when it was found, and either hand it over to the Government or provide security for it (Gov. India 1878, §4). The Collector is then to both publish a public notification (see Figure 6 below for example) requiring anyone claiming the treasure to appear before the Collector in person or by agent in 4-6 months' time, as well as to directly notify any owner of the land on which it was found (Gov. India 1878, §5).



**TREASURE TROVE.**

Notice is hereby given that on the 13th April 1883, coins 161 in number, smaller than a pie, of some metal other than gold, silver or copper, were found in an earthen pot buried in the house belonging to Ravipati Jagannadharaju, in the village of Gopalpatnam, in Srirampuram Kunda, in the proprietary estate of Anakapalle, in the Vizagapatam District.

All persons claiming the treasure, or any part thereof, are hereby required to appear personally or by agent before the Collector of Vizagapatam, on or before 25th August 1883, at Vizagapatam.

*Acting Collector.*

VIZAGAPATAM COLLECTOR'S OFFICE,
*The 21st May 1883.*

Figure 6: An example Treasure Trove notification (Gaz. India 1883)

If the Collector finds that an applicant has a viable claim, that person then has to file a suit in the Civil Court (Gov. India 1878, §8). Otherwise, the treasure is declared ownerless and may be given to the finder or finders (Gov. India 1878, §§9-15). The Collector can however opt to acquire the treasure on behalf of the Government, for the value of the treasure plus 20%, with the Collector's decision being final (Gov. India 1878, §§16-17).

The penalties for contravening the act are relatively robust by international standards. Should the finder of treasure not notify the Collector, not either hand it over or pay a deposit, or attempts to alter it in some way in order to conceal its identity, they both forfeit the treasure, and face up to 12 months imprisonment and a fine (Gov. India 1878, §20). By comparison the UK Treasure Act provides for only three months imprisonment (Gov. UK 1996, §8). The owner of land who abets such an act similarly faces up to 6 months imprisonment and a fine (Gov. India 1878, §21).

The Treasure Trove Act is indisputably useful in resolving issues of illegally trafficked antiquities, as it provides clear evidence of ownership of an object. A good example of this was the case of a bronze Nataraja (dancing Shiva) sculpture discovered at Sivapuram in Tamil Nadu in 1951. Declared to be treasure trove under the act, the item was purchased by the government and donated to a local temple. When it was later stolen and smuggled out of the country to the United Kingdom, it was possible for the UK authorities to determine it to be stolen property due to the treasure trove documentation, and it was eventually returned in 1986 (Brodie 2005, 1061).

### 3.2.5 Government of India Resolution 1–30-42 of 1881

Recognising that ancient monuments of archaeological value but not specifically of public use were not adequately protected under the existing acts or activities of the Archaeological Survey, the government appointed a Curator of Ancient Monuments with act 1–30-42 of 1881. Under the terms of the resolution, H. H. Cole was appointed to the post with his own department, distinct from the Survey, and an annual budget of Rs. 24,552, for three years (Gov. India 1881).

### 3.2.6 Government of India Resolution 3–167-181 of 1882

In response to a letter stating concern about the uncoordinated tracking and storage and export of items recovered from the field, and from excavations from the Trustees of the Indian Museum (Waterhouse 1882), the government issued a policy statement with resolution 3–167-181 of 1882, through which it sought feedback for the purpose of issuing guidelines (Gov. India 1882, 344). The resolution contained two main proposals regarding the housing of artefacts in museums:

> "(1) that arrangements should be made for the permanent deposit in the Indian Museum, when circumstances permit, of archaeological collections formed by officers belonging to the Archaeological Survey of India; and
>
> (2) that Local Governments and Administrations should be called upon to furnish a list of museums in their respective Provinces, with the names of the officers attached to each museum, and a statement of the objects for which the institution was founded, in order to the interchange of information and specimens with the Indian Museum"

This was balanced by a preference for *in situ* preservation if possible:

> "The Governor General in Council desires to make it clear that he is entirely opposed to the removal of any objects which are still *in situ*…"
>
> *(Gov. India 1882, 343)*

Feedback to the proposals was positive, and demonstrated awareness of a growing problem, as in the reply from the Government of the North-West Provinces and Oudh:

> "… it is only just that Indian museums should have the distinct opportunity of benefiting by the services of the Department. As matters now stand, it is to be apprehended that India may be rapidly drained of a quantity of invaluable art treasures… Sir Alfred Lyall concurs with His Excellency as to the inadvisability of removing objects which are still *in situ.*"
>
> *(Reid 1882)*

James Burgess also supported *in situ* preservation, stressing the need for this to be done properly however, with full protection for objects left in the field from a range of factors including reuse of materials for agriculture and construction (Burgess 1882).

### 3.2.7 Government of India Resolution 1–58-71 of 1883

The feedback to the resolution of 1882 resulted in something of a compromise, still strongly recommending *in situ* preservation, and that objects for which this would be unsuitable should go to the Imperial Museum, but left this up to local administrators to decide:

> "All discoveries of objects of archaeological interest made by Government officers (whether belonging to the Archaeological Survey or not) should be reported by them to the head of the Local Government or Administration within which the discovery is made. When such a report is made, it will rest with the Local Government or Administration to issue orders for the preservation of the objects discovered *in situ*, or for their removal to a Provincial or Local Museum, where such exists… Where there is no Local Museum, the object should be sent to the Imperial Museum…"
>
> *(Gov. India 1883)*

The government did not take the warning of Burgess that items left *in situ* were by no means safe from destruction, as evidenced by this note to the resolution:

> "Experience has, however, shown that the arrangements necessary for securing any object worthy of removal to a museum, or for preserving it in any other way, can in most cases be made without difficulty by Local Government or local officers. This being so, it does not appear necessary to take any legal powers of compulsory acquisition."
>
> *(Gov. India 1883)*

With an increasing population and expansion of the transport network however, farmland development, modern tilling, production of lime, building on sites and removing material to incorporate in buildings elsewhere naturally became more prevalent. That this is a serious problem today is frequently reported, for example in Gujarat where 63% of early historic sites have been found to be poorly preserved and sustaining significant damage

(Khandwalla 2004, 121), or in Haryana where population growth is putting sites under pressure and leading to widespread encroachment (Mohan 1996). As already intimated by Burgess, this was also a serious problem under the British, who were embarrassingly and very publicly put on the spot by a visiting French archaeologist, Gustav Le Bon in 1885, who noted in the newspaper *Le Temps* that the important temple ruins at Chandravati in Rajasthan, which had been studied by Tod in the 1820s and Fergusson in 1839, and were supposed to be under the protection of the ASI, had been now been completely destroyed due to railway construction:

> [The monuments] "unfortunately disappear with alarming rapidity. The English pickaxe is ruthless, and when any temple is within range of a road under construction, porticos, columns, statues quickly fall under the wrecker's ball in order to strengthen some embankment, and the traveller who has painfully journeyed a long road to visit a temple described by some archaeologist arrives at an entirely razed temple. I almost took a long trip recently to visit the temple city of Chandravati described in several books. By lucky coincidence I learned when I left that the temple had recently been reduced to small fragments by an engineer to pave a road.
>
> The truly ferocious vandalism of the English against monuments is striking. The few archaeologists interested in ancient monuments have written numerous pamphlets calling for their conservation, but it does not appear that any serious results have been obtained."
>
> *(Le Bon 1885, trans. author)*

Upon enquiry by James Burgess nearly a year after the report as to what had happened, the Public Works department issued a rather unsatisfactory explanation, that:

> "… there were complaints made against the Railway officers when the stone from the temples was being removed for use as rubble stone. These complaints referred to carved stones in particular. Once the work of obtaining stone from the temple ruins came to be trusted to task workers, the utter destruction of the temple mounds as interesting architectural remains of an era at least 10 centuries old, became inevitable…"
>
> *(Cumming 1886)*

Noting that this had become a common occurrence, Burgess requested the Government to issue orders against destruction of monuments for public works (Burgess 1886), finally resulting in a Government circular, issued on the 8th of September, 1886:

> "The rules of the Public Works Department Code (Chapters III, 74 and 75, and XI, 6) provide for the care and preservation of buildings of architectural and historical interest, but it should be in future distinctly understood that this term comprises ancient ruins of all kinds, and mounds known or likely to contain ruins, and that in all cases of doubt no steps whatever should be taken,

> otherwise than for their preservation, without the previous inspection and consent of the Archaeological Department."
>
> *(Sampson 1886)*

Apparently this circular was insufficient, as Burgess was compelled to complain again in October of 1887 of the destruction of an ancient Buddhist stupa at Mordhvaj, as well as the sites at Ghazipur and Bhitari (Burgess 1887). To Burgess's great frustration, in each case the staff of the Public Works Department had 'excavated' the sites and sent some material to museums, but not recorded any archaeological context.

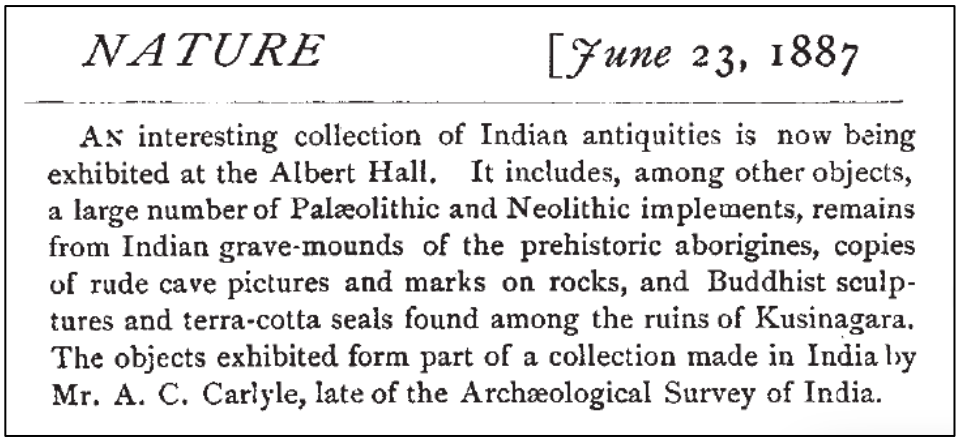
The department then issued an additional circular (Walker 1887), reiterating that the Archaeological Survey must inspect all sites before any action could be taken.

### 3.2.8 Government of India Resolution 24–4-2 of 1889

The Treasure Trove Act of 1878 had been an important step, but in spite of this the collecting and trading of antiquities seemed to be rapidly increasing, partly due to the fact that it covered only items above a certain value and did not prevent the finder exporting the objects if allowed to keep them. This was a particularly serious problem with regard to colonial staff, which Burgess had earlier attempted to alert the government to:

> "I refer to the acquisition by officers in Government employ of valuable antiquarian and other relics, and which, in most instances that have come under my notice, have ultimately been lost. I may adduce as instances: The late Dr. Jas. Bird, of Bombay, who made a valuable collection of coins, copper-plates, &c., among which were at least two important plates from stûpas at Kanheri; he dies in London, and of his collections the only object I have been able to trace is a Chalukya copper-plate grant of the 7$^{th}$ or 8$^{th}$ century, which was recovered from the debris after the late fire at Messrs. Southy's auction rooms and is now in the British Museum. Another medical officer who had apparently made an important collection of coins died a few years ago, and his widow sold the gold pieces to a goldsmith, who melted many of them down, and a few only were rescued accidentally by Sir Walter Elliot…. It is impossible to say how many important objects have been lost by private collectors in India…"
>
> *(Burgess 1882)*

Embarrassingly private collecting also extended to members of the Archaeological Survey, as can be seen from the advertisement for the display of the collection of one ex-officer at the Albert Hall in London in 1887 (Nature 1887, 184) (and see Figure 7).



NATURE [June 23, 1887

AN interesting collection of Indian antiquities is now being exhibited at the Albert Hall. It includes, among other objects, a large number of Palæolithic and Neolithic implements, remains from Indian grave-mounds of the prehistoric aborigines, copies of rude cave pictures and marks on rocks, and Buddhist sculptures and terra-cotta seals found among the ruins of Kusinagara. The objects exhibited form part of a collection made in India by Mr. A. C. Carlyle, late of the Archæological Survey of India.

Figure 7: Advertisement in *Nature.*

It also became apparent at this time that many international collectors were now commercially motivated to trade in Indian antiquities, as noted by Major J.B. Keith in a letter to the Indian Government in 1888:

> "During my last sojourn to India, I found private agencies actively at work in collecting art treasures. They are stimulated by no love of art, but by the high prices now being offered for the antique. In Calcutta one gentleman assured me that he was in the habit of sending a monthly instalment of sculptured heads to Europe. Similarly an officer on board the troopship in which I recently returned from Bombay, intimated that he had a box full of Greek heads from Hoti Murdan in the Punjab. After the Franco-Prussian war, a Dr. Jagor from Berlin was allowed to take away from India as many antiquities as he could lay hands upon, thus enriching Berlin at the expense of India."
>
> *(Keith 1888)*

This was corroborated by Burgess, who also suggested action on the part of the government to counter at least part of the problem by modifying the Treasure Trove Act:

> The demand and prices now offered for such objects have become so great that natives are induced to search for them everywhere, both in our own territory and in Swat and Buner, where some important Buddhist shrines must, not very long since, have been dug up for the sake of the sculptures. Had no such demand existed, these remains would in all probability have been left undisturbed till some scientific exploration of them could have been made…
>
> … To stop the present traffic will perhaps now be a matter of some difficulty. Government can only appeal to the consciences of officers. The smaller and more important separate articles occasionally found…. Government can bring within the Treasure Trove Act, by doing away with the absurd exception as to articles of small value…. The exception in the Act ought to be rescinded, and the whole made less technical, speedier in settling with finders…"
>
> *(Burgess 1889)*

As a result of the growing publicity and frustration by officers of the Survey, the government passed Resolution 24–4-2 on March 28th of 1889, "… to prevent the undue appropriation by private persons of such Indian antiquities as are worthy of being preserved in the national institutions of this country…" (Gov. India 1889, §1). In accordance with Burgess's recommendations, the resolution enlarged the definition of treasure in the Treasure Trove Act to include "all ownerless antiques of any value" (Gov. India 1889, §2). It also emphasized that where the act stated that Government had the right to purchase all treasure with a value over Rs. 10, this referred to the market value of the item, not its material value, ensuring that nothing of real value could be exported legally without the Government having an option to purchase first (Gov. India 1889, #3).

While such Government resolutions were important, they were however at best "… instructions and suggestions… for the consideration of Local Governments and Administrations, who are invited to take such action and lay down such rules in connection therewith as may be deemed useful and desirable" (Gov. India 1889, §1). The fact that they were much less effective than legislation is seen in the fact that Viscount Cross felt it necessary to write to the Government just two years later about the need to "… impress upon them again the desirableness of seeing that these orders are properly attended to" (Cross 1891).

As Viceroy of India from 1899 to 1905, George Curzon not only ensured the reestablishment of the Archaeological Survey, but also ensured that Indian monuments received much greater legal protection. In a speech to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1900, he spoke out against the kind of religious agendas that had weakened the Bengal and Madras regulations, and the indifference of civil servants to heritage:

> "If there be any one who says to me that there is no duty devolving upon a Christian Government to preserve the monuments of a pagan art, or the sanctuaries of an alien faith, I cannot pause to argue with such a man...
>
> James Fergusson's books sound one unending note of passionate protest against the barrack-builder, and the military engineer. I must confess that I think these individuals have been, and within the more restricted scope now left to them, still are inveterate sinners... That the era of vandalism is not yet completely at an end is evident from recent experiences, among which I may include my own."
>
> *(Curzon 1900)*

Curzon followed his words with actions, and for example petitioned the government for the return of decorative panels from the Diwan-i-Am in Delhi, which had been looted during the Mutiny of 1857 and sold to a London museum. Curzon was highly eloquent in his plea,

and his arguments would still be perfectly relevant for large portions of British collections today:

> "...it would seem a pity, and indeed inexcusable, to conduct any such process of artificial renovation, when the original panels, appropriated by an Englishman, are all the while lying in a London Museum.
>
> ...it would appear to be singularly desirable that the background of the throne should represent... by a careful restoration of its original condition, not the vandalism of an earlier generation, but the generous enlightenment of a later and more cultured age."
>
> *(Curzon et al. 1902)*

The entreaty was successful, and the objects were shipped from England in November of 1903. Despite advances in individual cases such as this, sites continued to be destroyed and Marshall had been compelled to yet again call for local governments to be reminded of their obligations under the recent resolutions requiring a member of the Archaeological Survey to supervise all excavations. In this case it was due to an occurrence in the North-West Frontier Province, where:

> "…a week or two ago the Deputy Commissioner gave orders to the local Tahsildar to excavate a site near Nowshera. A considerable sum has been sanctioned by the Government for exploration in this district, and it is of importance that any promising sites which are chanced upon by the peasants should be reserved for scientific digging, and not overturned and ruined in the hope of finding a few valuables. I have little doubt that in the case which I have mentioned significant evidence for Graeco-Bhuddist civilisation of that district has been lost for all time."
>
> *(Marshall 1902)*

As a result of this ongoing frustration, a draft bill to "Provide for the preservation of monuments of historical or artistic interest" was circulated in 1901 (Gov. India 1901). In an accompanying note to the draft, the Secretary to the Government of India, J.B. Fuller, elaborated on the reason for the legislation, explaining that the current system was:

> "… liable to be defeated by the indifference or opposition of private persons into whose hands such buildings have fallen, and it is notorious that this country has lost, and is now losing, monuments of great artistic or archaeological interest owing not merely to neglect but to deliberate destruction. The Government of India are of the opinion that these circumstances warrant the intervention of the State to prevent further injury and to carry out such necessary measures of protection and repair as the owners are unwilling to undertake;"
>
> *(Fuller 1901)*

While a bill dealing with archaeology might not stir up too much interest in many countries, in India the vast quantity and distribution of sites meant that it would by its nature be highly pervasive. This was reflected in an intense period of consultation between the central and local governments over the next year and a half, during which every paragraph was debated. The key concerns raised about the draft were that it could interfere to too great a degree with private property rights, and that penalties involving imprisonment were too drastic.

As the Government of India's bill was being drafted, a similar bill had also been framed in Bengal, known as the "Bengal Ancient Monuments Protection Bill".

A second draft of the government's bill was thus produced, merging the text of both documents and incorporating the feedback (Gov. India 1902), and a final version was produced in May of 1903 (Gov. India 1903). The final bill represented the evolution of the principles of the Bengal and Madras regulations and the Religious Endowments Acts, seeking to expand the cases in which preservation could be applied to all ancient monuments (Curzon et al. 1903).

### 3.2.9 The Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904

In its final form, the act covers four main areas, of which the key points will be summarised:

1. Ancient monuments
2. Traffic in antiquities
3. Protection of sculptures, carvings, images, bas-reliefs, inscriptions or like objects
4. Archaeological excavation

#### *3.2.9.1 Ancient monuments*

For the purposes of the act, an ancient monument is defined as "any structure, erection or monument, or any tumulus or place of interment, or any cave, rock-sculpture, inscription or monolith, which is of historical, archaeological or artistic interest, or any remains thereof, and includes— (a) the site of an ancient monument; (b) such portion of land adjoining the site of an ancient monument as may be required for fencing or covering in or otherwise preserving such monument; and (c) the means of access to and convenient inspection of an ancient monument" (Gov. India 1904, §2).

The majority of this section of the act is devoted to determining who has possession of a monument in order to preserve it. Under section 4 the government may purchase, lease, or receive as a gift any protected monument through the Collector (Gov. India 1904, §§4.1-

4.3), and appoint a Commissioner to provide guardianship (Gov. India 1904, §§4.4-4.5). The government may however elect to leave the monument in the possession of the current owner.

Should the government decide on the latter course, an agreement is to be concluded with the owner including provisions for detailing required maintenance, custody and security, restrictions on modifications and public access (Gov. India 1904, §§5.2.a-c). The owner must give notification of intention to sell the land, giving the government first refusal (Gov. India 1904, §5.2.d). Importantly for a great many sites, if any part of the monument is used for religious purposes, then the government may only enter into an agreement with persons of that same religion (Gov. India 1904, §6.3).

If the Collector believes that the owner intends to damage the monument in contravention of the agreement, he may legally prohibit this (Gov. India 1904, §7.1). Similarly if the owner fails to carry out their obligations to preserve the monument, the Collector may employ someone else to do so at the owner's expense (Gov. India 1904, §7.2). The Collector is also empowered to ensure that any endowment that may exist for the preservation of the monument is being used correctly, with the backup of the district judge if necessary (Gov. India 1904, §9).

Should an agreement with the owner not be practical, the government may make a compulsory purchase of the monument (Gov. India 1904, §10), unless any part is used for religious purposes, in which case purchase is possible but not compulsory (Gov. India 1904, §10.2.a). Upon purchase by the government, the monument is then to be maintained by an appointed Commissioner (Gov. India 1904, §11), and activities such as mining and quarrying near to the monument may be restricted (Gov. India 1904, §10A).

The government is to ensure that the public have the right of access to any monument (Gov. India 1904, §15), but must also ensure that any place of worship protected under the act is free of "misuse, pollution or desecration", including prohibiting entry to anyone not belonging to the relevant religious community (Gov. India 1904, §13). The natural tension between these sections is clear – on the one hand it is obviously critical to protect local religious sensibilities, while on the other a monument maintained with public money could be expected to be accessible to all members of the public. There is no perfect solution, other than insisting that all religious communities will be treated equally. An interesting new development is to deny physical entrance, but enable viewing of the interior and the deity via the Internet. The Jagannath Temple in Orissa for example allows entry only to Hindus who were born both as Hindus and within India, but allows all others,

including foreign-born and converted Hindus, to worship (*darshan*) indirectly via the internet (Scheifinger 2009, 284–285).

Penalties for contravening the act by anyone including the owner, occupier or member of the general public are prohibitive without being too strict, extending to a fine of up to 5,000 rupees (ca. £50), imprisonment for up to three months, or both (Gov. India 1904, §16).

#### *3.2.9.2 Traffic in antiquities*

Antiquities are defined under the act as "… any moveable objects which the Central Government, by reason of their historical or archaeological associations, may think it necessary to protect against injury, removal or dispersion"(Gov. India 1904, §2.2). Under section 17 of the act, the government may issue an order prohibiting the transport by sea or land of any antiquities or class of antiquities "… being sold or removed to the detriment of India or any neighbouring country" (Gov. India 1904, §17.1), and any person found to be contravening such an order faces a fine of up to 5,000 rupees (ca. £50) (Gov. India 1904, §17.2). It should be noted that in the highly profitable world of antiquities smuggling this level of fine is not at all prohibitive, except for the less well-paid operatives at the lower end of the smuggling chain.

The act also empowers law enforcement officers to search any vessel suspected of smuggling antiquities and to confiscate any that are found (Gov. India 1904, §§17.3-17.4).

#### *3.2.9.3 Protection of sculptures, carvings, images, bas-reliefs, inscriptions or like objects*

In accordance with the strong preference of the government for *in situ* preservation, sculptures, carvings, images, bas-reliefs, inscriptions or similar objects may not be moved from any place they are found without the written permission of the Collector (Gov. India 1904, 18.1), with fines of up to 500 rupees (£5) for violations. If the government deems an object to vulnerable to removal or damage, it may elect to issue an order for compulsory purchase (Gov. India 1904, §19), except in cases where the object is used for religious purposes (Gov. India 1904, §19.2.a), or where the owner wishes to trade it due to "… any reasonable ground personal to himself or to any of his ancestors or to any member of his family" (Gov. India 1904, 19.2.b).

#### *3.2.9.4 Archaeological excavation*

The government is able to restrict excavation on a site by establishing a protected area, taking immediate ownership of any buried antiquities within that area, and allowing only

officers of the ASI to enter and dig (Gov. India 1904, §20), or by allowing third parties to be granted licences for this purpose (Gov. India 1904, §20B.1). From Marshall's point of view this was most important to prevent excavation by "irresponsible persons" such as the railway engineers and local government officials (Marshall 1905, 3).

The government may also acquire any protected property which it believes "contains an ancient monument or antiquities of national interest and value" (Gov. India 1904, §20C), paying the owner what is assessed to be the market value of the property (Gov. India 1904, §21).

The driving force behind the act was very much Curzon, whose speech during the passing of the act in the legislative chamber expressed the degree of personal involvement he had provided:

> "As a pilgrim at the shrine of beauty I have visited them, but as a priest in the temple of duty have I charged myself with their reverent custody and their studious repair."
>
> *(quoted in Gilmour 2003, 181)*

While the act gave the Archaeological Survey critical means to address problems that it had long identified, it also required an immediate increase in activity by the department, especially with regard to monitoring sites and assessing the market value of items and properties, as described by Marshall:

> "This means a great deal. It means that we must possess thoroughly up to date knowledge of the market prices of every class of antiquities; that we must keep in touch with the channels through which the traffic in them passes; that we must periodically inspect any monuments of importance in private possession, as well as those in possession of the State, and that we must preserve a record of any transaction connected with the application of the new Act."
>
> *(Marshall 1904)*

Marshall drafted rules for the application of the act in 1908 (Marshall 1908), but these do not seem to have been issued, with the practical interpretation and implementation of the act being left instead to the local governments and ASI circles.

### 3.2.10 The Ancient Monuments Preservation (Amendment) Act of 1932

The act has been modified several times, the most significant of which was the amendment act of 1932 (Gov. India 1932). This introduced section 10A on control of mining activities, as well as sections 20A, 20B and 20C, providing much additional detail on the provision

of licences for excavation, making it easier to enable digging by non-governmental and foreign institutions. This immediately allowed a wider range of work to be carried out, for example by the American School of Indic and Iranian Studies at Chanhudaro in Sind in 1935 (Graves 1936, 244) and by the University of Calcutta at Bangarh in Bengal in 1938 (Basak 2007, 335). They key aspect was that it was by institutions approved by the ASI, and this opened the door to the significant share of excavations now carried out by universities in particular.

Woolley's 1939 report was critical of the AMPA and suggested several improvements. In particular he noted that despite the amendment of 1932, disappointingly few foreign institutions had undertaken excavations (Woolley 1939, 9), and recommended that they be treated more 'generously' and allowed to remove a significant portion of excavated artefacts to their own museums:

> "… it is to the credit of the country that good things should go out from it. The results of excavation are to be destined for public museums abroad, and it is not fitting that Indian art should be represented by indifferent examples. The soil of India will, if excavation is encouraged, yield far more than Indian museums require… I must reply to those who might oppose an equal division of antiquities between the excavator and the Government in the words of the ancient Greek philosopher and legislator– 'Fools, they do not even know how much greater the half is than the whole'."
>
> *(Woolley 1939, 11)*

Such a strongly colonial recommendation was a return to what Curzon would have regarded as the 'inexcusable conduct' of an earlier generation and has never been acted upon. Woolley's criticisms of the AMPA antiquities trading clauses were more realistic however, as he saw that the law only attempted to prohibit the movement of objects, saying nothing about their sale, purchase or possession, and he recommended licensing dealers in order to regulate the trade (Woolley 1939, 16).

### 3.2.11 The Antiquities (Export Control) Act of 1947

Woolley's recommendations and experience of trying to use the AMPA soon led to a tightening of the rules, resulting in the Antiquities (Export Control) Act of 1947, which was designed to "make better provision for controlling the export of objects of antiquarian or historical interest or significance" (Gov. India 1947).

Intended as an extension of the AMPA (Gov. India 1947, §9), it expanded the definition of an antiquity from that of any movable object with archaeological or historical associations, to:

> "(i) any coin, sculpture, manuscript, epigraph, or other work of art or craftsmanship,
>
> (ii) any article, object or thing detached from a building or cave,
>
> (iii) any article, object or thing illustrative of science, art, crafts, literature, religion, customs, morals or politics in bygone ages,
>
> (Iv) any article, object or thing declared by the Central Government by notification in the official Gazette to be an antiquity for the purposes of this Act,-
>
> which has been in existence for not less than one hundred years"
>
> *(Gov. India 1947, §2.a)*

This time air travel was also included in the means of transport covered (Gov. India 1947, §2.b), and instead of banning only transport, the act now fully prohibited the export of any antiquity without a government-provided license (Gov. India 1947, §3). Antiquities were to be treated as prohibited goods as under the Sea Customs Act of 1878 (Gov. India 1947, §4), and offences were punishable with up to one months imprisonment or a fine of up to 5,000 rupees (Gov. India 1947, §5). Finally, the Director-General of archaeology was to have the final decision on questions of whether any object was an antiquity under the act (Gov. India 1947, §6).

As with the AMPA, this act was still weak in that it did not prohibit the selling or ownership of antiquities within India, or contain sufficient deterrents for offenders. Pal (1992, 78) has also criticized the act for not containing any provision for compulsory acquisition of objects.

### 3.2.12 The Indian Constitution, 1950

Following independence in 1947, the Constituent Assembly of India spent three years crafting the constitution, resulting in over 400 articles and 12 schedules prescribing a parliamentary model along British lines, but with a strong focus on minority and regional rights inspired by the American model (Khosla 2012, xv). The text contains several direct stipulations regarding archaeology, and many other principles which must be taken into account when drafting any law, including that on heritage.

Protection of heritage is ensured by Article 49, which states that:

> “It shall be the obligation of the State to protect every monument or place or object of artistic or historic interest, declared by or under law made by Parliament to be of national importance, from spoliation, disfigurement, destruction, removal, disposal or export, as the case may be.”
>
> *(Gov. India 1950a, §49)*

The special inclusion of archaeology is significant, as in a country as religious as India even religious sites do not receive such specific protection. During the debates in the Constituent Assembly, it was proposed that the above article be followed by another to likewise "protect, safeguard and preserve the places of worship such as Gurdwaras, Churches, Temples, Mosques including the graveyards and burning ghats" (Tahir 1948). This was rejected on the basis that religious sites already had sufficient community and legal support:

> "If every temple and every gurdwara is to be maintained, which may be abandoned by a community, then it will be imposing an unnecessary obligation on the State and diverting the tax-payers' money to purposes which are not legitimate charges upon it. On the other hand, it is the duty of the community to maintain and preserve every gurdwara and temple. All that can be expected of the State is that it should see that there is no molestation, it should protect them against all aggression."
>
> *(Ayyangar 1948)*

The critical distinction seems to be that an ancient building or site may have neither community to support it, nor the fundamental rights a religious individual or community may have, and therefore requires special protection.

The Seventh Schedule of the constitution defines the division of responsibility for heritage between central and state governments, and in particular gives an important role to state archaeological units:

> **List I—Union List**
>
> 67. Ancient and historical monuments and records, and archaeological sites and remains, declared by or under law made by Parliament to be of national importance.
>
> **List II—State List**
>
> 12. Libraries, museums and other similar institutions controlled or financed by the State; ancient and historical monuments and records other than those declared by or under law made by Parliament to be of national importance.
>
> 44. Treasure trove.
>
> **List III—Concurrent List**
>
> 40. Archaeological sites and remains other than those declared by or under law made by Parliament to be of national importance.
>
> *(Gov. India 1950a, sched. 7, §246)*

The right to property is handled by the legislature in India, and this not covered by due process (Austin 1999, 101). The constitution thus also provides protection and compensation for cases of acquisition of land by government in the public interest, such as for heritage preservation (Gov. India 1950a, §31A).

Finally, article 253 allows the government "to make any law for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any treaty, agreement or convention with any other country or countries or any decision made at any international conference, association or other body" (Gov. India 1950a, §253). This is essential to enable the enactment of commitments under international conventions which the country ratifies, such as those of UNESCO.

### 3.2.13 Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act of 1951

The Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act was designed specifically to realize the directives of article 49 of the constitution (Biswas 1999, 4). The act very simply declared all archaeological sites that "have either been declared by the Central Government, to be protected monuments within the meaning of the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, 1904, or which have been taken possession of by the Central Government as protected monuments" to be monuments and archaeological sites and remains to be of national importance as described in the constitution. It then added to these a list of 443 sites that had been located within the former princely states and therefore not subject to the 1904 act (Gov. India 1951) (and see Table 13).

| State | Ancient and Historical Monuments | Archaeological sites and remains |
|---|---|---|
| Hyderabad State | 22 | 8 |
| Madhya Bharat State | 126 | 8 |
| Mysore State | 108 | 8 |
| Patiala and East Punjab States Union | 2 | 0 |
| Rajasthan State | 77 | 40 |
| Saurashtra State | 24 | 5 |
| Travancore-Cochin State | 8 | 7 |

Table 13: Sites from former princely states protected under the 1951 act.

### 3.2.14 UNESCO Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict, 1954 and the First Protocol

Having fought four wars with Pakistan in 1947, 1965, 1971 and 1999 (Paul 2005, 8), one with China in 1962 (Mansingh 1994, 286), and having twice intervened militarily in neighbouring states, in Sri Lanka in 1987-1990 (Cooper et al. 1993, 122–125) and the Maldives in 1988 (Devotta 2003, 369), India has been no stranger to armed conflict since independence.

Ratifying the convention and its first protocol on May 14th 1954 (UNESCO 2016b), India committed to a range of measures, some of which have been covered under legislation, and others which seem to be partly or not yet implemented. Under article 3, states must:

> "… undertake to prepare in time of peace for the safeguarding of cultural property situated within their own territory against the foreseeable effects of an armed conflict, by taking such measures as they consider appropriate."
>
> *(UNESCO 1954, §3)*

One way for this to be done is through establishing a National Committee of the Blue Shield, which prepares lists of vulnerable property and plans for its clear identification in war and removal to places of safety if necessary. India is listed in the records of the Blue Shield organisation as having a committee "under construction" (ANCBS 2016), but it is not clear whether this is will eventually happen. There also appears to be no legislation that contains elements clearly enacted to support the convention. Bhat (2001) has argued that the Ancient Monuments Act of 1904 and the Antiquities and Art Treasures Act of 1972 are equally applicable in times of war (though this is not stated in either text), and that the they both thus already support the convention's aims, but this is substantially incorrect. Neither act includes any article supporting the main requirements of the convention, namely display of blue shield flags, preparing special shelters in case of conflict, preventing export of antiquities explicitly from occupied territories and educating the armed forces and wider public about the convention. These points have been well implemented in other ratifying states such as Austria for example, which has gone to extensive lengths to train its military accordingly (Schipper et al. 2010, 171), so India does seem to be deficient in comparison.

The lack of preparation specifically for conflict situations necessarily weakens the possible effect of the convention with regard to India. During the Indo-Pakistani war of 1971 the UNESCO Director-General specifically requested both countries to comply with their

obligations (Clément 1994, 16), but such warnings are effectively too late to make a significant difference.

The one area in which India seems to have complied most closely with the convention is in the continued compilation and maintenance of lists of sites to be protected.

### 3.2.15 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 1958

The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 1958 was largely designed to bring the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904 into line with the constitution (Biswas 1999, 4), and to address ways in which that act was proving unworkable. Referring to the 1904 act, the introduction to the bill for the new act states that:

> "The then existing position relating to ancient monuments was found to be unsatisfactory, and the need was felt to legislate a self-contained law at the Centre which would apply exclusively to ancient monuments, etc., of national importance falling under Union List, Entry 67 and to archaeological sites and remains falling under Concurrent List, Entry 40."
>
> *(Gov. India 1958, introduction)*

One reason for the unsatisfactory state of affairs was that it was difficult for state governments with some degree of autonomy to operate under a law that focused on central authority, control and national focus. As such the bill recommended that:

> "Simultaneously, the State Governments would be advised to enact a similar law in respect of ancient monument etc., falling under Entry 12 in the State List. In this manner, the Central and State fields will be clearly demarcated and the existing confusion and overlapping of jurisdiction arising from the Act of 1904 will be eliminated."
>
> *(Gov. India 1958, statement of objects and reasons)*

In addition to assuming a focus on sites of national importance only, the 1958 act also transfers some powers to the Central Government and the Director-General, strengthens rules for monument maintenance, broadens the range archaeological sites it covers, makes greater provision for compulsory purchase of antiquities and allows the government to make rules for the practical application of the act.

#### *3.2.15.1 Declaration of national importance*

Article 4 allows the Central Government to declare an ancient monument or archaeological site to be of national importance for the purposes of the act, whereby it must give two

months public notice to allow any objections to be raised (Gov. India 1958, §4). This allows the government to fulfil the role assigned to it by the constitution.

#### *3.2.15.2 Transfer of functions to the Director-General of Archaeology*

The act transfers many of the tasks previously assigned to Collectors to the Director-General of Archaeology for more centralised coordination. These include the acquisition of rights in a protected monument (Gov. India 1958, §5), prohibiting actions likely to damage a monument (Gov. India 1958, §10), enforcing agreements (Gov. India 1958, §11) and give permission for movement of antiquities (Gov. India 1958, §25).

#### *3.2.15.3 Enforcing maintenance agreements*

A problem that had been encountered with the 1904 act was that private owners of monuments had often refused to enter into agreements for their maintenance. The 1958 act therefore allows the Central Government to create an order for the required maintenance and make it binding on the owner, whereby "all reasonable expenses for the maintenance of the monument shall be payable to the Central Government" (Gov. India 1958, §9).

#### *3.2.15.4 Compulsory purchase of antiquities*

Under the act any antiquities discovered during excavation must be reported to Central Government, which may make an order for compulsory purchase, from which date the objects officially belong to government (Gov. India 1958, §23).

#### *3.2.15.5 Broader regulation of excavation*

The act also extends the regulation of excavation beyond protected areas designated to be of national importance, insisting that approval must first be given by Central Government in all cases (Gov. India 1958, §24).

#### *3.2.15.6 The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Rules, 1959*

The act allows the Central Government to make rules for its carrying out (Gov. India 1958, §38), and these were laid out subsequently in 1959 (Gov. India 1959). The rules govern the practical application of the act. For access they control the closure of monuments, entrance fees and acceptable uses (Gov. India 1959, Ch. 2). Chapter 3 determines the kind of invasive activity that can be permitted in protected areas, i.e. construction, excavation, how licenses will be issued, and lists penalties (Gov. India 1959, Ch. 3). Other

chapters regulate excavation in unprotected areas(Gov. India 1959, Ch. 4), how archaeologists are to report excavated antiquities to the government (Gov. India 1959, Ch. 5), how antiquities may be moved from area to area (Gov. India 1959, Ch. 6), license of mining and construction near to protected monuments (Gov. India 1959, Ch. 7), and the copying and filming of monuments (Gov. India 1959, Ch. 8).

Finally, the act repealed the Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Declaration of National Importance) Act of 1951.

### 3.2.16 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property, 1970

The 1970 convention, ratified by India on January 24th 1977 (UNESCO 2016b), includes an extensive definition of what fits under the umbrella of 'cultural property', providing states with very wide-ranging protection (UNESCO 1970, §1). Under the convention each party agrees among other things to draft national laws and regulations to prevent the illicit import and export of cultural property (UNESCO 1970, §5a), establish rules in line with the convention for stakeholders such as curators, collectors and antique dealers (UNESCO 1970, §5e), to prohibit export of any item of cultural property without a certificate of permission (UNESCO 1970, §6), and to prevent the import of any illegally exported property, or its acquisition by any museum, and to comply with requests for such property to be returned to the state of origin (UNESCO 1970, §7).

In a 1987 report on member states efforts to comply with the convention, it was noted that India was more advanced than most other states, having established a special branch within its security services to deal with offences (UNESCO 1987, 4), promoting the issues by distributing leaflets among the general public (UNESCO 1987, 6), and amending the Antiquities and Art Treasures Act of 1972 and associated rules of 1973 (UNESCO 1987, 24).

India has especially urged the 'market countries' to ratify the convention, but so far these have refused to do so (Shankar 2001, 36). The United Kingdom for example has 'accepted' the convention, but limited itself strictly to obligations it already has under European law, and therefore refusing to commit to anything new (UNESCO 1970, declarations and reservations).

### 3.2.17 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, 1972

Ratified immediately by India on November 16th 1972 (UNESCO 2016b), the UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO 1972) established the World Heritage Committee (UNESCO 1972, §§8-14) and World Heritage Fund (UNESCO 1972, §§15-18). It defines the kinds of sites which can be included on the World Heritage List (UNESCO 1972, §§1, 2 and 11), and requires the parties to the convention to conserve those sites in specific ways (UNESCO 1972, §§4-6).

#### *3.2.17.1 Qualifying sites*

The convention covers sites including monuments, including sculpture and caves, groups of buildings, and sites "including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view" (UNESCO 1972, §1). India has succeeded in having 32 sites inscribed on the World Heritage List, the seventh largest number among the state parties (UNESCO 2016b) (and see Table 14).

| State | Number of properties inscribed |
|---|---|
| Italy | 51 |
| China | 48 |
| Spain | 44 |
| France | 41 |
| Germany | 40 |
| Mexico | 33 |
| India | 32 |
| United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland | 29 |
| Russian Federation | 26 |
| United States of America | 23 |

Table 14: Countries with the most sites inscribed on the World Heritage List (derived from UNESCO 2016d).

#### *3.2.17.2 Requirements of states parties*

A state must recognize that the "duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage… situated on its territory, belongs primarily to the State" (UNESCO 1972,

§4). To this end a state must have sufficient resources to preserve a site to at least a minimum level before it can expect inscription or additional international assistance.

Each state must have, or establish, a service capable or protecting and conserving its World Heritage sites (UNESCO 1972, §5.b), and possess national or regional centres for training in these areas (UNESCO 1972, §5.e). In the case of India these requirements are fulfilled in the Archaeological Survey of India.

For each site, the state must carry out research on the sites and take action to counter any threats (UNESCO 1972, §5.c), plan comprehensively for its preservation, and importantly it must give it "a function in the life of the community" (UNESCO 1972, §5.a). The effectiveness with which India has done these things for the three World Heritage sites used in this thesis' case studies will be evaluated in chapters 5 and 6.

The convention has not yet resulted in significant changes to national legislation, other than some clauses of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 2010 addressing boundary areas (see section 3.2.25), and the National Commission for Heritage Sites Bill of 2009 which attempted to provide improved mechanisms for adhering to the Convention but was withdrawn without enactment in 2015 (see section 3.2.27.1).

### 3.2.18 The Antiquities and Art Treasures Act of 1972

The Antiquities and Art Treasures Act if 1972 was passed to address limitations which had become apparent in regard to the Antiquities (Export Control) Act of 1947 (Brodie 2005, 1060), which it repealed and replaced, and as a response to the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property (Shankar 2001, 35). This section will assess the effectiveness of how it addressed these aims, including amendments made in 1976 (Gov. India 1976). As well as these drivers, the act's passage was also given a strong boost by the highly publicised theft of antiquities including an iconic Vishnu statue from Chamba in Himachal Pradesh, which caused a heated debate in parliament in 1971 (Pal 1992, 97).

# Bill to curb antique smuggling on anvil

"The Times of India" News Service

NEW DELHI, June 21.

A COMPREHENSIVE law under which only the Union Government or any agency or organisation authorised by it shall be entitled to export antiques out of India is proposed to be enacted during the current session of Parliament.

Giving this information in the Lok Sabha today, the Union Minister for Education and Social Welfare, Mr. Siddhartha Shankar Ray, enumerated other measures the Government proposed to take to prohibit unauthorised export of antiques and other pieces of ancient sculpture from the country.

The Minister's statement was in response to a calling-attention notice tabled by Mr. Vikram Mahajan and four others.

The proposed legislation would further prevent any person from carrying on business in selling any antique except in accordance with licences granted for the purpose by the appropriate authority. Such licences would be required to maintain registers containing particulars of the antiques in their possession.

Penalties for smuggling out antiques would be enhanced and the Government would acquire wide powers of search and seizure for preventing and detecting theft of ancient objects of art.

ment had reported that it had been possible to unearth the gang suspected to be responsible for the theft and five of its members had already been arrested.

Investigations made so far had not revealed any evidence that the stolen Vishnu idol had been smuggled out of India. To prevent its going out in future, the Interpol division of the CBI had alerted all check-posts.

In reply to questions, the Minister said that, while the Hari Raj temple was a protected monument under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act, the image of Vishnu was not, in as much as it was being worshipped by devotees daily.

## Vishnu idol has historic value

"The Times of India" News Service

SIMLA, June 21: The Hari Raj temple from which a valuable Vishnu idol has been stolen is located next door to the police station in Chamba. The Home Guards and the fire brigade also have their offices in the vicinity.

This fact, disclosed by top officials of the State Government hailing from Chamba, adds piquancy to the theft.

Figure 8: Excerpt from a 1971 Times of India article about the Chamba theft and resulting push for legislation (ToI 1971, 8)

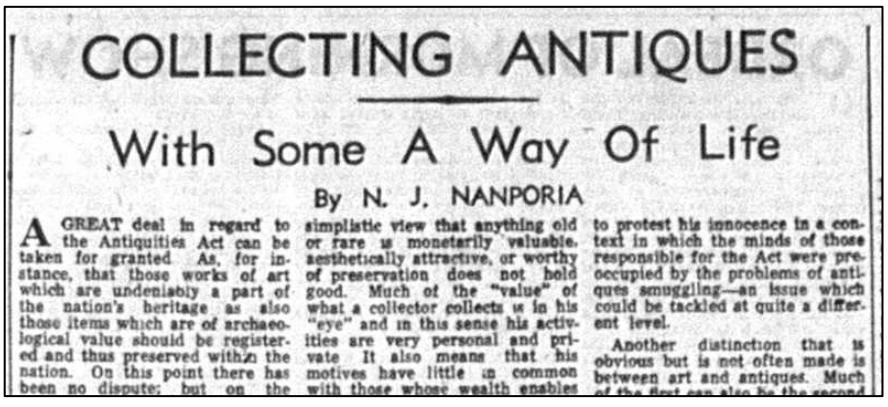
The 1972 act expanded the definition of an antiquity from that used in the 1947 act, now including "any article, object or thing of historical interest" and "any manuscript, record or other document which is of scientific, historical, literary or aesthetic value and which has been in existence for not less than seventy-five years" (Gov. India 1972, §2). This is however still not as broad as that of the 1970 UNESCO convention, missing for example objects of paleontological interest, pictures, paintings and drawings, sound, photographic and cinematographic archives, articles of furniture and musical instruments. In this sense, the act fails to fully address the spirit and substance of the convention, and to some extent must weaken India's ability to benefit from it under international law.

One way the new legislation attempted to improve on the 1947 act was by broadening its ban on antiquity, effectively creating a simpler 'blanket ban' to remove any loopholes or ambiguity (Brodie 2005, 1063). The new act states that:

> "… it shall not be lawful for any person, other than the Central Government or any authority or agency authorised by the Central Government in this behalf, to export any antiquity or art treasure."
>
> *(Gov. India 1972, §3.1)*

Very importantly, the act introduced licenses for the selling of antiquities, (Gov. India 1972, §§7-8), and required that all dealers must also maintain a register of all antiquities in their possession, including photographs, and make these available for inspection by the Government (Gov. India 1972, §10). The Government is also able to require the registration by dealers of any classes of antiquities it deems important, within three months of being requested to do so (Gov. India 1972, §14).

These provisions are important as they closed a major gap in the 1947 legislation, which was less effective in preventing antiquities looting and trade because it only focused on preventing the international transport of the items. The move to increase control across the entire process of the antiquities trade was therefore a logical and important progression. This was predictably highly unpopular with dealers, and the hastily created 'Federation of Association of Collectors and Dealers in Art and Antiquity' from Bombay lobbied the government that the demands on dealers were unrealistic, particularly in terms of the short compliance deadlines and requirement to photograph all inventory (Pal 1992, 102). Similarly in a 1976 article in The Statesman, N.J. Nanporia insisted that the act was too hard on amateur collectors (Nanporia 1976, 4) (and see Figure 9). However, neither of these positions received a sympathetic hearing from government, which had now adopted a clear policy that any antiquities collection and dealing was illegal, unless strict regulations were followed.



COLLECTING ANTIQUES

With Some A Way Of Life

By N. J. NANPORIA

A GREAT deal in regard to the Antiquities Act can be taken for granted. As, for instance, that those works of art which are undeniably a part of the nation's heritage as also those items which are of archaeological value should be registered and thus preserved within the nation. On this point there has been no dispute; but on the simplistic view that anything old or rare is monetarily valuable, aesthetically attractive, or worthy of preservation does not hold good. Much of the "value" of what a collector collects is in his "eye" and in this sense his activities are very personal and private. It also means that his motives have little in common with those whose wealth enables to protest his innocence in a context in which the minds of those responsible for the Act were preoccupied by the problems of antiques smuggling—an issue which could be tackled at quite a different level.

Another distinction that is obvious but is not often made is between art and antiques. Much

Figure 9: The 1976 Nanporia article in The Statesman (Nanporia 1976)

Addressing other shortcomings of the 1947 act, articles 19 and 20 provide government with the power of compulsory acquisition (Gov. India 1972, §§19-20), while penalties are

also strengthened to provide a stronger deterrent. The penalty for unlicensed export of antiquity increased from one month's imprisonment to between six months and three years (Gov. India 1972, §25.1). Dealers operating without a license or refusing to allow a government agent to inspect their records now also face a prison sentence of up to six months or a fine, or both (Gov. India 1972, §§25.2-25.3). The act also makes provisions for offences committed by companies, making anyone in charge of or responsible for the company and its actions equally liable (Gov. India 1972, §28). Taken together, these increased penalties represent a significant strengthening of the law, ad provide a much more effective deterrent.

Pal (1992, 26) has argued that the blanket ban and heavy penalties are more likely to encourage clandestine activity, but this argument is rather disingenuous, as effectively the undesirable activity had been taking place regardless up until this point, and at least now the government has greater power to regulate and control it. Interestingly, the act also contains a provision allowing the government the option of going even further and to become the sole authorised seller of antiquities in future, if it so chooses (Gov. India 1972, 13). If anything, the law could become more sweeping in order to increase its effectiveness. For example Brodie (2005, 1064) has recommended that the AATA should become a patrimony law, whereby all antiquities automatically belong to the State in the first instance, which would make it more enforceable in United States courts.

#### *3.2.18.1 The Antiquities and Art Treasure Rules 1973*

The rules for carrying out the Antiquities and Art Treasures Act determine practical matters such as the method of application and associated forms for antiquities dealing licenses, and the terms of those licenses (Gov. India 1973, §§4-7 and 9-13). Instructions including a prescribed form are provided for dealers for maintaining a register of their stock (Gov. India 1973, §8).

### 3.2.19 Geneva Conventions Protocol II, 1977

The Geneva Conventions on humanitarian conduct in war were ratified by India in 1950 (RULAC 2016). The second protocol to the treaties which extended them to non-international conflict was however not ratified. Article 16 of the protocol (*Protection of cultural objects and places of worship*) states that:

> "Without prejudice to the provisions of the Hague Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict of 14 May 1954, it is prohibited to commit any acts of hostility directed against historic monuments,

> works of art or places of worship which constitute the cultural or spiritual heritage of peoples, and to use them in support of the military effort."
>
> *(ICRC 1977, §16)*

Despite taking place in the working groups, India was opposed to the need for this protocol and did not ratify it (Junod 1983, 33). In a country which had undergone the violence of partition and with on-going communal violence and separatism this was perhaps surprising, but one can speculate that attempting to adhere to the protocol in India may simply have been felt to be too tall of an order.

### 3.2.20 UNIDROIT Convention on Stolen or Illegally Exported Cultural Objects, 1993

The UNIDROIT Convention of 1993 was designed to complement the earlier 1970 UNESCO Convention. Its stated aim is:

> "… to contribute effectively to the fight against illicit trade in cultural objects by taking the important step of establishing common, minimal legal rules for the restitution and return of cultural objects between Contracting States"
>
> *(UNIDROIT 1993, preamble)*

India was not happy with the provisions of this convention. Its reasoning was that the article 1 of the convention is too restrictive, applying to relations between contracting member states only, so non-contracting states would be left particularly vulnerable to theft (UNIDROIT 1995, 131–132). Time limits for restitution were also found to be inappropriate, with India pointing out that:

> "This provision places an unreasonable burden on owners. It is open to different interpretations and is ambiguous and contrary to the interests of the developing countries from where cultural objects are most often stolen."
>
> *(UNIDROIT 1995, 132)*

In a similar vein article 4 of the convention was also felt to be particularly unfair to developing countries, as it required the legitimate owner to pay full market rate compensation to anyone who had bought a stolen object in good faith, something many countries and communities could not afford to do. Instead India had proposed that compensation should be paid by the last person in the chain who had sold the object to the eventual holder (UNIDROIT 1995, 132).

Due to the above factors, India has therefore not ratified the convention (UNIDROIT 2016).

### 3.2.21 UNESCO Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict: Second Protocol, 1999

The second protocol was designed to strengthen the original convention and make it more effective, particularly as a result of the destruction of cultural property experienced during the Croatian War of Independence, during which the Old Town of Dubrovnik and its archives were particularly targeted solely due to their cultural significance (Riedlmayer 2007, 107).

Chapter three of the protocol provides for certain sites to be granted 'enhanced protection', whereby they must be "of the greatest importance for humanity", be protected by national law and effective administration, and be confirmed not to be used for military purposes in any way (UNESCO 1999, §§10-14).

Chapter four lays out the penalties serious violations, including criminal procedures, extradition and sanctions (UNESCO 1999, §§15-21). Chapter 5 determines that the protocol covers non-international armed conflict as well. While it contains a provision that the protocol does "… not apply to situations of internal disturbances and tensions, such as riots, isolated and sporadic acts of violence and other acts of a similar nature" (UNESCO 1999, §22.1), which would therefore not include India's communal riots for example, India nonetheless felt uncomfortable with this and requested that it be removed or reduced in scope (Toman 2009, 405). This perhaps reflects the on-going memory of partition and the potentially unstable nature of some of India's regions, but it is still not completely clear why India would object to such provisions now. Nonetheless, despite taking an active part in the debate during the drafting of the second protocol (Toman 2009, 714), India opted not to ratify it (UNESCO 2016b).

### 3.2.22 UNESCO Convention on the Protection of the Underwater Cultural Heritage, 2001

With a 7,000km coastline (CIA 2016), well developed coastal shipping routes in operation long before Roman contact (Thapar 2003, 236), and an overall maritime history dating to over 3000 BCE (Tripathi 2006, 64), India has a rich underwater cultural heritage to protect. The convention requires state parties to protect all underwater heritage within their exclusive economic zones and continental shelves (UNESCO 2001, §10), must report any underwater cultural objects that it discovers to the other states parties in case they have a historical interest in it (UNESCO 2001, §11), ensure appropriate protection of all such sites (UNESCO 2001, §12). The states parties further undertake to cooperate closely with one

another (UNESCO 2001, §19), and to provide training in underwater archaeology to ensure appropriate research and preservation can be undertaken (UNESCO 2001, §21). Despite the need for support in protecting its extensive underwater cultural heritage, India has not ratified this convention (UNESCO 2016b).

### 3.2.23 UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, 2003

India did however ratify the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Heritage on October 17th 2003. The Convention defines intangible cultural heritage as:

> "… the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage."
>
> *(UNESCO 2003c, §2.1)*

Among the vehicles for intangible heritage, the text lists traditional craftsmanship (UNESCO 2003c, §2.2.e), for which there is considerable overlap with archaeology. States are required to safeguard their intangible heritage, in particular by maintaining inventories (UNESCO 2003c, §12), and with the 'widest possible' participation of communities (UNESCO 2003c, §15). The Convention also focuses on vulnerable minorities, and commits to the creation of lists of 'the intangible cultural heritage of humanity' and 'intangible cultural heritage in urgent need of safeguarding' (UNESCO 2003c, §§16-17).

As this convention is especially relevant to India with its rich cultural diversity and constitutional commitments to the rights of minorities, India has been particularly active in its crafting and administration, having served on the intergovernmental committee twice, from 2006-2010 and also currently, from 2014-2018 (Gov. India 2014b).

### 3.2.24 UNESCO Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions, 2005

Similar to the 2003 convention, the 2004 Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions does not specifically mention archaeology, but it is obvious that maintaining the diversity of cultural heritage falls easily within its scope. Guiding principles of the convention that Indian archaeologists need to take into consideration include the "recognition of equal dignity and respect for all cultures, including the cultures of persons belonging to minorities and indigenous peoples" (UNESCO 2005b,

§2.3), and principles of encouraging development that is cultural, economic and sustainable, and ensuring equitable access (UNESCO 2005b, §§2.5-2.7).

State parties must ensure that their communities "have access to diverse cultural expressions from within their territory as well as from other countries of the world" (UNESCO 2005b, §7.b), which can logically be interpreted to include access to archaeological sites and museums. States must take appropriate measures to protect and preserve cultural expressions that are "at risk of extinction, under serious threat, or otherwise in need of urgent safeguarding" (UNESCO 2005b, §8), which must therefore also be applied to the protection of monuments and sites. India ratified the Convention on October 20th 2005 (UNESCO 2016b).

### 3.2.25 Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment and Validation) Act of 2010

The Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment and Validation) Act brings the 1958 act up to date and enables new activities on the part of government. The act defines a prohibited area extending one hundred metres in all directions around protected monuments, within which no construction is permitted other than by an archaeological officer, defined in a newly inserted article 20A (Gov. India 2010, §5). An additional 'regulated area' is to extend a further 200 metres in all directions, within which a permit is required for construction, as defined new article 20B (Gov. India 2010, §6).

Permission to repair, renovate or construct within either area is now to be given by a 'competent authority' with the insertion of articles 20C-20E, which is defined as "an officer not below the rank of Director of archaeology or Commissioner of archaeology of the Central or State Government or equivalent rank", who is appointed by the Central Government as per the newly inserted article 2.db (Gov. India 2010, §7).

The most significant change brought about by the act is the establishment of the National Monuments Authority, as defined in new articles 20F-20I. The principle tasks of the NMA are to make recommendations for the grading and classification of monuments, and to consider the impact of large-scale development projects (Gov. India 2010, §7). In this way much of the administrative work of assessing and managing monuments of national importance is taken off the hands of the ASI, enabling it to focus more on conservation and excavation work.

The Act also increases the penalties of the 1958 Act, article 30, with prison sentences increasing from three months to two years, and fines from five thousand rupees to one lakh rupees (100,000 rupees) (Gov. India 2010, 8). New articles 30A-30C are also created to define punishments for construction in prohibited and regulated areas, and for offences by government officers, for whom potential prison terms of three years are likely to be effective in discouraging corruption (Gov. India 2010, §9).

### 3.2.26 Regional legislation

In line with the advice of the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 1958 that the individual State Governments should enact parallel laws to cover the monuments assigned to them by the seventh schedule of the Constitution, the majority have done so, at the same time repealing the 1904 Ancient Monuments Preservation Act within their territories (Jayakumar 2010, 11). Table 15 gives an overview of all regional legislation thus enacted.

| State | Year | Act No. | Act title | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andhra Pradesh | 1960 | 7 | The Andhra Pradesh Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. An.P. 1961) |
| | 2001 | 19 | The Andhra Pradesh Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment) Act | (Gov. An.P. 2001) |
| Arunachal Pradesh | 1987 | 4 | The Arunachal Pradesh Ancient Monuments Archaeological Sites and Remains Preservation Act | (Gov. Ar.P. 1990) |
| Assam | 1959 | 25 | The Assam Ancient Monuments and Records Act | (Gov. Assam 1959) |
| Bihar | 1976 | - | Bihar Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites, Remains and Art Treasures Act | (Gov. Bihar 1976) |
| Goa | 1978 | 1 | The Goa, Daman and Diu Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. Goa 1979) |
| Gujarat | 1965 | 25 | The Gujarat Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. Gujarat 1965) |
| Haryana | 1964 | 20 | The Punjab Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. Punjab 1964) |
| Himachal Pradesh | 1972 | 16 | The Indian Treasure-Trove (Himachal Pradesh Amendment) Act | (Gov. H.P. 1972) |
| | 1976 | 32 | The Himachal Pradesh Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. H.P. 1976) |
| Jammu & Kashmir | 1920 | 5 | The Jammu and Kashmir Ancient Monuments Preservation Act | (Gov. J.K. 1920) |
| | 1954 | - | The Jammu and Kashmir Treasure Trove Act | (Gov. J.K. 1954) |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 2010 | 15 | The Jammu and Kashmir Heritage Conservation and Preservation Act | (Gov. J.K. 2010) |
| Jharkhand | 1976 | - | Bihar Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites, Remains and Art Treasures Act | (Gov. Bihar 1976) |
| Karnataka | 1961 | 7 | The Karnataka Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. Karnataka 1961) |
| | 1962 | 23 | The Karnataka Treasure Trove Act | (Gov. Karnataka 1963) |
| Kerala | 1968 | 26 | The Kerala Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. Kerala 1969) |
| | 1968 | 30 | The Kerala Treasure Trove Act | (Gov. Kerala 1968) |
| Madhya Pradesh | 1964 | 12 | The Madhya Pradesh Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. M.P. 1964) |
| | 1970 | 29 | The Madhya Pradesh Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment) Act | (Gov. M.P. 1970) |
| Maharashtra | 1960 | 12 | The Maharashtra Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. Maharashtra 1961) |
| Manipur | 1976 | - | Manipur Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. Manipur 1976) |
| | 1978 | - | The Manipur Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Amendment) Act | (Gov. Manipur 1978) |
| | 1996 | - | The Manipur Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains (Second Amendment) Act | (Gov. Manipur 1996) |
| Meghalaya | 2012 | 9 | The Meghalaya Heritage Act | (Gov. Meghalaya 2012) |
| Mizoram | 2001 | - | Mizoram Ancient Monuments and Archaeological sites and Remains Act | (Gov. Mizoram 2001) |
| Nagaland | | | None found | |
| Orissa | 1956 | 12 | The Orissa Ancient Monuments Preservation Act | (Gov. Orissa 1956) |
| | 2002 | 16 | The Orissa Ancient Monuments Preservation (Amendment) Act | (Gov. Orissa 2002) |
| Punjab | 1964 | 20 | The Punjab Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. Punjab 1964) |
| Rajasthan | 1961 | 19 | The Rajasthan Monuments, Archaeological Sites and Antiquities Act | (Gov. Rajasthan 1961) |
| Sikkim | | | None found | |
| Tamil Nadu | 1949 | 36 | The Indian Treasure-Trove (Tamil Nadu Amendment) Act | (Gov. T.N. 1949) |
| | 1966 | 25 | The Tamil Nadu Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. T.N. 1967) |
| | 2012 | 24 | The Tamil Nadu Heritage Commission Act | (Gov. T.N. 2012) |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Telangana | 1960 | 7 | The Andhra Pradesh Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. An.P. 1961) |
| Tripura | 1997 | 2 | The Tripura Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act | (Gov. Tripura 1997) |
| Uttar Pradesh | 1956 | 7 | The Uttar Pradesh Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites & Remains Preservation Act | (Gov. U.P. 1957) |
| Uttarakhand | 1956 | 7 | The Uttar Pradesh Ancient and Historical Monuments and Archaeological Sites & Remains Preservation Act | (Gov. U.P. 1957) |
| West Bengal | 1957 | 31 | The West Bengal Preservation of Historical Monuments and Objects and Excavation of Archaeological Sites Act | (Gov. W.B. 1958) |

Table 15: Indian State heritage legislation

### 3.2.27 Proposed legislation

Indian heritage legislation has been constantly updated to make it more effective, to adapt to changing international obligations, and to take account of regional differences.

#### *3.2.27.1 The National Commission for Heritage Sites Bill of 2009*

The National Commission for Heritage Sites Bill was put before the Rajya Sabha (upper house of parliament) in 2009, with the aim of enabling India to fulfil its commitments under the 1972 UNESCO Convention. This was found necessary as on the one hand the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act of 1958 does not cover monuments less than 100 years old, thereby missing many historical sites, and on the other because the many State acts which partly or fully overrule AMASRA are not consistent with one another, and sometimes conflict (Gov. India 2009b, preamble).

The bill covered both cultural and natural heritage sites (Gov. India 2009b, §2.c), and aimed to establish the National Commission for Heritage Sites (Gov. India 2009b, §4). The main role of the Commission was to advise the government on conservation of sites (Gov. India 2009b, §16), in particular making recommendations for sites to be nominated for World Heritage status (Gov. India 2009b, §16.g). The Commission would also be able to issue directions to owners of heritage sites with regard to maintenance and preservation, and impose fines of up to ten lakh rupees (one million rupees) and above for non-compliance (Gov. India 2009b, §17).

The bill was sent to a standing committee for review, which released a highly critical report in 2010. It was felt that the bill would only partly meet the needs of the convention, and

that it aimed to set up yet another agency responsible for heritage conservation without explaining how other agencies such as the forestry department and ASI would be involved:

> "It appears that sole purpose behind bringing this Bill is to fulfil Government's obligation under World Convention on National Heritage. Under the Convention, perhaps many more legislations would be required to be enacted by the Government to fulfil the obligations imposed on the State Parties by it. In this situation, the Committee cannot but describe the present Bill as a half-hearted effort which distinctly lacks a holistic approach to tackle the problems."
>
> *(SCTTC 2009, note 45)*

Equally importantly, the committee criticised the time it had taken for the bill to be crafted and called into question the government's commitment to the convention and to heritage overall:

> "The Committee is surprised to note that India ratified the Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and National Heritage 1972, in the year 1977 and the Government did not take any actions to bring forth a suitable legislation under the Article 5 of the Convention for the last 32 years. This delay, the Committee feels, amounts not only to ignoring the spirit of international convention but also not being able to conserve and protect our valuable heritage sites in the country."
>
> *(SCTTC 2009, note 8)*

Recommending a swathe of modifications, the committee nonetheless recommended that the bill be passed on condition of their implementation (SCTTC 2009, note 43). It is unclear exactly what happened next, as following a further five year delay, they officially withdrew the bill in parliament in 2015 (Tribune 2015). As this means that a completely new bill would now have to be submitted (Rajya Sabha Secretariat 2005), it is unclear how India intends to fully meet its commitments under the convention.

### 3.2.28 Litigation related to heritage legislation

While a large proportion of litigation relating to heritage issues takes place at the district court level, at least fifteen cases have been heard at High Court or Supreme Level since 1993 (see Table 16). Of these, ten involved offences against the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Sites and Remains Act 1958, three against the Antiquities and Art Treasures Act 1972, two against the Indian Treasure Trove Act 1878, and two against the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act 1904.

| Date of judgement | Parties | Court name | Act(s) cited | Reference |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 02-Jun-93 | K.N. Gopakumar Vs. State of Kerala | Kerala High Court | AMASRA 1958 | (Joseph (J) 1993) |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12-Jul-01 | T.T. Antony Vs. State of Kerala and others | Supreme Court | AATA 1972 | (Quadri (J) et al. 2001) |
| 18-Aug-03 | B.P. Sharma Vs. Union of India and others | Supreme Court | AMASRA 1958 | (Kumar (J) et al. 2003) |
| 16-Apr-04 | Karnataka Board of Wakf Vs. Government of India and others | Supreme Court | AMASRA 1958, AMPA 1904 | (Babu (J) et al. 2004) |
| 13-Sep-06 | Sanjay Kumar Manjul Vs. The Chairman, UPSC and Others | Supreme Court | AMASRA 1958 | (Sinha (J) et al. 2006) |
| 08-Mar-07 | Manikchand s/o Pratapmal Baj and another Vs. Sakarchand s/o Premchand Gujarat and two others | Bombay High Court Bench at Nagpur | AMASRA 1958 | (Pangarkar (J) 2007) |
| 19-Jun-07 | Shamrao Bhimrao Sanap Vs. The State of Maharashtra and another | Bombay High Court bench at Aurangabad | ITTA 1878 | (Patil (J) et al. 2007) |
| 17-Jul-07 | Sethusamudram Corpn. Ltd. Vs. Rama Gopalan and others | Supreme Court | AMASRA 1958 | (Balakrishnan (J) et al. 2007) |
| 11-Aug-10 | Tourist Operator Association of Aurangabad Vs. Manager - Govt. of India Tourist Office Aurangabad and others | Bombay High Court bench at Aurangabad | AMASRA 1958 | (Gavai (J) et al. 2010) |
| 25-Jan-11 | M/S B. Fine Art Auctioneers P. Ltd. and others Vs. C.B.I and another | Supreme Court | AATA 1972 | (Reddy (J) 2011) |
| 08-Nov-11 | Pandurang Rama Deokar Vs. State of Maharashtra and another | Bombay High Court bench at Aurangabad | ITTA 1878 | (Joshi (J) et al. 2011) |
| 06-Jul-12 | Dr. Manikchand s/o Abhimanji Gajbhiye and others Vs. Union of India through its Director-General Archaeological Survey of India and others | Bombay High Court Bench at Nagpur | AMASRA 1958 | (Hardas (J) et al. 2012) |
| 01-Jul-13 | K. Guruprasad Rao Vs. State of Karnataka and others | Supreme Court | AMASRA 1958 | (Singhvi (J) et al. 2013) |
| 03-Sep-13 | Parisar Sanotherakshan Sanwardhan Sanstha Vs. Pune Municipal Corporation - the Munical Commissioner and others | Bombay High Court | AMASRA 1958 | (Chandrachud (J) et al. 2013) |
| 03-Feb-15 | Subhas Datta Vs. Un. of India and others | Supreme Court | AATA 1972, AMPA 1904 | (Goel (J) 2015) |

Table 16: Recent litigation for offences against heritage legislation

Of the above cases, the most recent of Subhas Datta Vs. Union of India and others, is of particular interest. This is an example of Public Interest Litigation (PIL), a form of lawsuit that is unique to india:

> “This technique is concerned with the protection of the interests of a class or group of persons who are either the victims of government lawlessness, or social oppression, or have been denied their constitutional or legal rights and who are not in the position to approach the Court for the redressal of their grievances due to lack of resources, ignorance, or their disadvantaged social or legal position.”
>
> *(P. Singh 2008)*

A PIL filed in 2008 (Subhas Datta Vs. Union of India and Others: Goel (J) 2015) complained that the government was not providing adequate security at museums to meet its obligations under the Constitution and the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act of 1904. This was a response to a recent spate of thefts from public institutions in West Bengal, including items having belonged to Rabindranath Tagore such as his Nobel prize medal from the museum of Viswabharati University at Santiniketan in 2004, gold coins stolen from the Asiatic Society in Calcutta in 1990, and additional thefts from Viswabharati University in 1984, and from the Victoria Memorial in Calcutta. The lack of central coordination for security at smaller locations such as Viswabharati University, which nonetheless hold items deemed to be of national importance, was well summarised in a newspaper interview with a somewhat hapless staff member:

> "We had been thinking about better security measures like a closed circuit television inside the museum and more security staff but before we could do anything this unfortunate incident happened.”
>
> *(Bhowmick 2004)*

The key requests of the complainant were that security at all institutions should be significantly improved, the above-mentioned thefts investigated and solved, and that a full inventory of historical objects at all institutions holding them should be carried out by Government or an independent body. Over the next seven years the Supreme Court liaised with the complainant, Government, museums and CBI. In a final ruling in 2015 (Goel (J) 2015) the judges decided that while no success had been met with in solving the cases of theft, sufficient progress had been made in incrementally improving security, and Government had provided resources for inventories to be made at the major museums. They recommended that more funding and monitoring mechanisms needed to be put in place, but concluded that there was “no reason to doubt the stand of the Central

Government and the other respondents that all necessary steps will be taken and reviewed from time to time" (Goel (J) 2015, 12).

The Indian heritage legislation in force today therefore mainly regulates the national and local government's responsibility to ensure the preservation of monuments and prevent trafficking in antiquities. This affects the public and in particular the communities located close to heritage sites, most of all by attempting to limit the damage to heritage by increased population growth and farming. Activity is especially restricted around sites, and while compensation is provided by the government for property purchased in order to protect sites, communities are likely to be adversely affected by many of the restrictions, unless these are counterbalanced by benefits of co-location with the sites such as commerce with tourists.

# 4 Methodology

## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter details the methodology employed in answering the thesis' core research questions:

1. How do visitors and local communities relate to Indian World Heritage sites in terms of identity?
2. How do Indian World Heritage sites help visitors and local communities to understand the past?
3. Do visitors to Indian World Heritage sites and local communities value the contribution of archaeology?
4. How important are local communities to Indian World Heritage sites, and do the sites benefit the local communities?

These questions were formed and refined in line with the criteria defined by Gray (Gray 2004, 70), whereby they both express a relationship between variables, and are stated in unambiguous terms in question format.

## 4.2 Theoretical approach and influence

In the end all research is influenced by theory (Silverman et al. 2008, 51) and this thesis is of course no different. Other than the theories outlined in chapter one which have helped me greatly to clarify the concept of identity and its formation, the overall framework has taken direction from several sources. Above all, this thesis is situated within the broader definition of public archaeology which Schadla-Hall states is:

> "... concerned with any area of archaeological activity that interacted or had the potential to interact with the public - the vast majority of whom, for a variety of reasons, know little about archaeology as an academic subject."
>
> *(Schadla-Hall 1999, 147)*

In particular the thesis acknowledges the need for public archaeology to act in the interests of indigenous peoples (Schadla-Hall 1999, 150), and the great importance of "...engaging the public as a whole in issues which do relate to them, and which should be of far greater concern than they currently appear to be in the study of archaeology" (Schadla-Hall 1999, 154).

Seale has noted that "…a self-consciously political position can lead to better research questions than relying on the ones set by people in power" (Seale 2007b, 387–388), and to this end I acknowledge the influence of both Marxist and subaltern theory in determining the perspective from which I have chosen this thesis topic and formulated my approach. For example the notion that the ruling classes propagate the key ideas of their time in order to support their own position and for capital gain (Marx & Engels 1970, 64), and do so systematically through state institutions (Dutschke 1967). This is balanced by recognition that there are sections of society who have neither role nor voice within the state (Gramsci 1971, 52), yet who of course must still be considered as stakeholders with regard to heritage.

The importance of this perspective was brought home to me when first proposing a topic involving tribal people. I had approached a senior and widely published Indian scholar for advice, who recommended that I not bother with such people as they were inconsequential.

## 4.3 Selection of case studies

The following World Heritage sites were chosen for this research:

- Rock shelters of Bhimbetka (Madhya Pradesh)
- Buddhist monuments at Sanchi (Madhya Pradesh)
- Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park (Gujarat)

A case study approach was chosen for this research because of the complex contexts in which the subjects are embedded, requiring a broad analysis of as many factors as possible. As defined by Yin, case studies are particularly useful where relationships between variables are not completely clear:

> "A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident…
>
> The case study inquiry copes with the technically distinctive situation in which there will be many more variables of interest than data points, and as one result relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion, and as another result benefits from the prior development of theoretical propositions to guide data collection and analysis."
>
> *(Yin 2009, 90–93)*

As each World Heritage site is different in terms of its geographic, historical, cultural and political contexts, an "integrated multiple case study" approach (Gray 2004, 145) was selected, involving three case studies with coordinated data collection and analysis.

The use of multiple sites strengthens the 'triangulation' of data, with findings that are replicated at two or more sites being able to be generalised to the broader population with a higher degree of confidence (Yin 2009, 165). Even if some results are found to be non-generalizable, they may still help to gain perspective on the questions, or identify an important contrast (Gray 2004, 89).

This approach was also chosen as mitigation against the risk of one of the case studies not working out for any reason, something I was particularly wary of as an early career researcher operating in a foreign setting with limited support.

World Heritage Sites are defined as representing "outstanding universal value", "…including archaeological sites which are of outstanding universal value from the historical, aesthetic, ethnological or anthropological points of view" (UNESCO 1972, §1), and the state is required to ensure their 'identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations' (UNESCO 1972, §4). World Heritage sites were chosen for the research because they intersect with local, regional, national and international identities and are high profile, being of broad public interest and attracting sufficient visitors for research.

Site selection was above all a matter of practicality, rather than the result of a comprehensive analysis of all sites in the country. The three sites used for the case studies were predominantly chosen for the following qualities: suitability for answering the research questions, differentiation in types of heritage, and convenience. In terms of suitability, because the focus of the work is on Indian identities, sites were deliberately chosen that are visited predominantly by domestic tourists due to their more remote locations, in order to make data collection more efficient. The sites were also selected on the basis that they are sufficiently different from one another, increasing the likelihood of both generalisation and contrast through comparison. Table 17 lists the similarities and differences between the sites with regard to attributes relevant for the research. Convenience played an important role as well. Bhimbetka and Sanchi were chosen because the local ASI branch was supportive and cooperative, and the sites were close enough to one another to make fieldwork more efficient. Champaner-Pavagadh was chosen both for regional contrast and because I was already familiar with the site due to previous visits.

| | Sites | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Bhimbetka** | **Sanchi** | **Champaner-Pavagadh** |
| Type of cultural heritage | Rock art | Architectural | Architectural |
| Approximate timespan of primary cultural heritage (years BP) | 100,000 to 750 | 2,300 to 1,000 | 1,600 to 480 |
| Associated religion | Animist | Buddhist | Islamic/syncretic |
| Level of communal tension | Low | Low | High |
| Year of inscription | 2003 | 1989 | 2004 |

Table 17: Comparison of basic attributes between case study sites.

The field research was carried out over a period of six years, from 2010 to 2015, with 27 days in the field, as detailed in Table 18. The majority of the work was conducted during the beginning of summer (March-April) and the beginning of Winter (October-November), when the weather conditions were conducive to long periods of outdoor work, although the march temperatures at Bhimbetka did reach 40-42°C on many days. These were also the times of the year when the majority of visitors to the sites were domestic, with these peaking in October, while the peak time for foreign visitors is December (Datamation Cons. 2013, 3).

| | Sites | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **Bhimbetka** | **Sanchi** | **Champaner-Pavagadh** |
| Preliminary site visits | Jan 2006 (1 day)<br>Mar 2010 (1 day) | Mar 2010 (1 day) | Nov 2012 (1 day) |
| Pilot surveys | Apr 2011 (4 days) | - | - |
| Main visitor surveys | Mar 2015 (4 days) | Mar 2015 (3 days) | Oct 2014 (6 days) |
| Main community surveys | Mar 2015 (2 days) | Mar 2015 (2 days) | Oct 2014 (2 days) |

Table 18: Times at which field research was carried out on each site.

## 4.4 Participants

The participants of the fieldwork were visitors to the sites, and members of local communities, both tribal and non-tribal. The means by which membership of these groups was qualified are given in Table 19.

| Participant group | Qualification |
|---|---|
| World Heritage site visitors | Present within the boundaries of the world Heritage site, non-resident or employed, aged 18 and above. |
| Local community members | Resident of the chosen local communities, aged 18 and above. |

| | |
|---|---|
| Local community members (tribal) | Resident of the chosen local communities, and qualifying for ST status, aged 18 and above. |

Table 19: Means of qualifying participants.

Due to the known differences in time perception between children and adults outlined in chapter one, a decision was made to collect data only from participants over the age of 18 years, in order to maximise the comparability of the data.

Figure 10: Visitors completing survey forms at Bhimbetka.

## 4.5 Data collection

Prior to fieldwork background research was conducted in order to properly prepare for data collection, and in order to help with understanding the 'conditions of possibility' that determine any group or individual's knowledge (Foucault 1994, xxi).

### 4.5.1 Approach

This thesis uses a mixed-methods quantitative and qualitative approach. While the ratio of quantitative to qualitative questions is high (see Table 20), the latter are nonetheless very important. Identity is too complex to be described in purely numeric terms, whereas

qualitative data retains the authenticity of the individual participant voices (Silverman et al. 2008, 33–34).

| Survey | Quantitative questions | Qualitative questions |
|---|---|---|
| Visitor survey | 27 | 4 |
| Local community survey | 15 | 0 |

Table 20: Ratio of quantitative to qualitative questions in questionnaires.

Qualitative questions add important depth to surveys (Flyvbjerg 2007, 402), and make a more inductive kind of research possible, whereby the perspectives of participants can be explored in more detail (Gray 2004, 99), and many of which may not have been anticipated (Gray 2004, 194). Allowing participants to freely state such opinions is very important, as it has often been argued that case studies can have a bias towards verification, or a tendency to confirm a researcher's preconceived notions (Flyvbjerg 2007, 398).

The qualitative data also provide for more comprehensive and reliable answers to the research questions, as described by Brannen:

> "Different types of data need to be seen as constituted by the assumptions and methods that elicit them. In this perspective, qualitative and quantitative data need to be treated as broadly complementary, though not necessarily as compatible, rather than as adding up to some rounded reality, as advocated by exponents of triangulation."
>
> *(Brannen 2007, 283)*

In this case quantitative and qualitative data have been used in a way that Hammersley classifies as 'complementarity', with qualitative data expected to provide greater depth and context and interpretation, and quantitative data to examine associations and the ability to generalize to larger populations (Hammersley 1996, 167), as well as to help identify sampling biases (Brannen 2007, 294).

Finally, it should also be noted that the more ethnographic qualitative research methods also help with bridging the social distance between researcher and participant, especially when there is a significant cultural divide (Silverman et al. 2008, 35), something I definitely found to be the case here, especially with the local communities.

### 4.5.2 Visitor surveys

Data were collected using questionnaire forms, which were tested and refined during the pilot survey at Bhimbetka in April 2011. The questions are a mixture of kinds, designed to obtain either specific, categorical information for context and comparison, or more complex

and open information to better understand opinions (for reference see Gray 2004, 194–198).

#### *4.5.2.1 Category questions*

Category questions allow only one answer from a short list, and are used mainly for providing context, e.g. question 1:

1 Have you come to Bhimbetka:

| | |
|---|---|
| Specifically? | ☐ |
| As part of a bigger tour? | ☐ |
| Because it is close to another site that you are visiting? | ☐ |

Binary category questions are those which have only two possible answers, such as "What is your sex?"

#### *4.5.2.2 List questions*

List questions allow multiple answers from a short list, and enable recording of more complex issues, e.g. question 18:

18 Would you be willing to pay more if the money went towards:

| | |
|---|---|
| Additional preservation work | ☐ |
| The local community | ☐ |
| Better facilities (toilets, shops) | ☐ |
| Providing access/tours to local tribal villages | ☐ |
| More guides | ☐ |
| The museum | ☐ |
| More research on the site | ☐ |
| Providing local arts and crafts | ☐ |

#### *4.5.2.3 Continuum scale questions*

Continuum scale questions require participants to determine how strongly they agree or disagree with a statement, and have been used to obtain participant viewpoints from a range of perspectives, e.g. question 22:

22 To what extent do you agree with the following statements about the people who made the rock paintings?

They were the ancestors of all Indians

| Strongly disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

They were the ancestors of the people who live in this area today

| Strongly disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

They were my ancestors

| Strongly disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

They were the ancestors of all people, not only Indians

| Strongly disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

It's difficult to say who they were

| Strongly disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

#### *4.5.2.4 Open questions*

Open questions provide for much richer, qualitative responses, which allow participants to use their own words rather than being constrained to alternatives that they may not completely agree with, and also to offer a rationale for their thoughts (Sylvan et al. 2009, 83–84) e.g. question 14:

14 What do you understand by 'World Heritage'?

Questions 1-8 are based on standard ASI surveys from the Bhopal Circle, ensuring that the data collected is of wider benefit, and are also useful for analysing identity based on behaviour in line with Burke (Burke et al. 2009, 91). Questions 26-31 mirror the categories of the 2011 census (Gov. India 2011a), enabling the survey population to be compared to the general population for representativeness, and are useful for establishing the 'personhood' of a participant as defined by Mauss (1985, 22).

Following Rapley (2007, 16), I have attempted not to design the questions in such a way that they will be neither 'too leading' nor 'not emphatic enough', in any way which might have a tendency to influence the participants' answers, especially in directions which support my own hypotheses.

Table 21 below lists all of the questions in the visitor survey, detailing which question type was used and which research questions each relates to. Where a question is for context or has been added to benefit the ASI, this has been noted in the 'other' column.

| | | | Research questions | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Survey questions** | | **Question type** | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **Other** |
| 1 | Have you come to [site] … | Category | | | | | Context, ASI |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 2 | What is the purpose of your visit? | Category | | | | | Context, ASI |
| 3 | How did you learn about the site before you came? | Category | | | | | Context, ASI |
| 4 | How often do you visit heritage sites (archaeology, museums, old temples etc.)? | Category | | | | | Context, ASI |
| 5 | Have you visited [site] before? | Category | | | | | Context, ASI |
| 6 | Are you going to stay near [site] today? | Binary category | | | | | Context, ASI |
| 7 | How likely are you to come back to [site] in future? | Category | | | | | Context, ASI |
| 8 | Would you recommend visiting [site] to someone else? | Binary category | | | | | Context, ASI |
| 9 | Do you identify yourself with the people who lived here in the past? | List | X | X | | | |
| 10 | Do you think [site] is important for India's identity? | List | X | X | | | |
| 11 | Do you think [site] is important for the rest of the world? | List | X | X | | | |
| 12 | Did you know that [site] is a World Heritage site? | Binary category | X | X | | | |
| 13 | Is it important that [site] is a World Heritage site? | List | X | X | | | |
| 14 | What do you understand by 'World Heritage'? | Open | X | X | | | |
| 15 | Are you satisfied with the level of the current admission price for the site? | Binary category | | | X | | ASI |
| 16 | To which agency is the admission fee paid? | Open | | | X | | ASI |
| 17 | Are you aware of any local or tribal villages at [site]? | Binary category | | | | X | |
| 18 | Would you be willing to pay more if the money went towards… | List | X | | X | X | |
| 19 | Do you think that public money should be spent on the protection and preservation of heritage? | Binary category | | | X | | |
| 20 | How important are the following things for understanding this site? | Continuum scale | | | X | X | |
| 21 | What priority should the following things have for this site? | Continuum scale | | | X | X | |
| 22 | To what extent do you agree with the following statements about the people who [created the site]? | Continuum scale | X | X | X | X | |
| 23 | Are you aware of any archaeological excavations at [site] (now or in the past)? | Binary category | | | X | | |
| 24 | How long ago [was the site main feature] created? | Open | X | | | | |
| 25 | What have you learnt by visiting [site] today? | Open | X | X | X | X | |
| 26 | What is your age group? | Category | | | | | Context |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 27 | Where are you from? | Category | | | | | Context |
| 28 | What is your mother tongue? | Category | | | | | Context |
| 29 | What is your religion? | Category | | | | | Context |
| 30 | What is your occupation? | Category | | | | | Context |
| 31 | What level of education have you reached? | Category | | | | | Context |
| 32 | What is your sex? | Binary category | | | | | Context |

Table 21: Mapping of visitor survey questions to research questions and uses.

The full visitor surveys were produced in English and Hindi for Bhimbetka and Sanchi, and in English, Hindi and Gujarati for Champaner-Pavagadh. The full versions of the surveys can be found in Appendix 1.

### 4.5.3 Local community surveys

Data were collected using much shorter questionnaire forms, which were tested and refined during the pilot survey at Bhimbetka in April 2011. In order to keep the surveys simple due to literacy and linguistic issues, they were limited to category and list question types.

As with the visitor surveys, questions 10-15 mirror the categories of the 2011 census (Gov. India 2011a), enabling the survey population to be compared to the general population for representativeness.

Table 22 below lists all of the questions in the local community survey, detailing which question type was used and which research questions each relates to. Where a question is for context, this has been noted in the 'other' column.

| | | | Research questions | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Survey questions** | | **Question type** | **1** | **2** | **3** | **4** | **Other** |
| 1 | How long has your family lived in this village? | Category | X | | | | |
| 2 | Have you visited the [features] before? | Category | X | | | | |
| 3 | How old are the [features] at [site]? | Category | | X | | | |
| 4 | Who created the [features] at [site]? | List | X | X | | | |
| 5 | Does the ASI help you to understand the [features] better? | Category | | | X | | |
| 6 | Did you know that [site] is a World Heritage site? | Binary category | | X | | | |
| 7 | Is it important that [site] is a World Heritage site? | List | | | | X | |

| | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8 | Does the World Heritage site benefit you? | List | | | | X | |
| 9 | What is your age group? | Category | | | | | Context |
| 10 | What is your mother tongue? | Category | | | | | Context |
| 11 | What is your religion? | Category | | | | | Context |
| 12 | What is your occupation? | Category | | | | | Context |
| 13 | What level of education have you reached? | Category | | | | | Context |
| 14 | Are you a member of a Scheduled Tribe? | Binary category | | | | | Context |
| 15 | What is your sex? | Binary category | | | | | Context |

Table 22: Mapping of local community survey questions to research questions and uses

The full local community surveys were produced in English and Hindi for Bhimbetka and Sanchi, and in English, Hindi and Gujarati for Champaner-Pavagadh. The full versions of the surveys can be found in Appendix 1.

All data for both surveys was entered into the study database at the end of every day, to ensure that it was collected systematically and consistently, to ensure its retention, and to highlight any errors at the time, rather than discovering them later when they would have been much more difficult to correct.

### 4.5.4 Sampling strategy

Sample size was necessarily limited by time and cost, as is the case with almost all surveys (Bryman 2012, 197). For the visitor surveys, due to time limitations and relatively low numbers of visitors, as well as being limited to specific time windows, all visitors willing to take part were accepted. Visitors were approached at all sites at locations on the way to major exits, and only people who had been on the site for one hour or more were selected. Participants were asked to fill out the survey form on paper, and I was able to conduct the survey verbally for those who declined to write.

This was therefore a non-random sample and cannot be guaranteed to be representative of all visitors, as it was not taken at all times throughout the year. While this is what Bryman calls a ‘convenience survey’ (Bryman 2012, 201), it nonetheless follows accepted good practice, for example being very similar in strategy to a well-known study of shoppers in London by Miller et al., in which no attempt was made to secure a quota or random sample, but every person passing the exists was approached (Miller et al. 2001, 181).

Ideally, any sample size should be large enough to account for variability in the sample population (May 2011, 101). A total quota of 200 visitors were interviewed at each site,

which within the time constraints of the project was deemed both realistic and achievable, and to be a reasonably representative sample that would produce a meaningful analysis. Conducting the survey within three case studies also provided additional context and comparison to aid in assessing representativeness (Bryman 1988, 88).

One issue that often requires researchers to aim for larger sample sizes is that non-response is often a significant factor in social science survey work, which can increase sampling error (Bryman 2012, 199). This was successfully mitigated in this research by having a strict quota of 200 participants per site. As I was present on the site as the questionnaires were being filled out, I was able to ensure that none were left blank or insufficiently completed.

Overall there was little to no sampling bias. While Miller et al reported bias due to only people with extra time to spare in shopping centres being willing to participate in their research (Miller et al. 2001, 181), this was not an issue for this project as the majority of visitors had dedicated an entire day to visiting the site and had come with their own transport, so were not in any hurry when approached.

The resident surveys were similarly non-random, with a quota of 20 participants per site. The limited sample size was due several practical issues. The villages themselves were generally very small, and it was difficult to spend too much time there without attracting too much attention. During the pilot study for example, the head of the village insisted taking half a day to escort me about, selecting (and disqualifying) my participants for me. I decided therefore to not spend more than 3-4 hours in each village at a time. I approached everyone I could, but as detailed in the limitations section, I only spoke to women accompanied by men. Of those approached, 66% were both willing and able to participate.

Language and cultural issues also meant that it was more difficult to approach people, and it took longer to explain what the survey was about, to obtain permission, and then to conduct the questioning. Around 75% of the questionnaires were completed on paper by the participants, but some answered orally, with me filling out the form for them. I tried to record the audio of these responses at first, but quickly abandoned that as I found that it reduced the naturalness of the process and made people more hesitant to answer or even participate.

### 4.5.5 Direct and participant observation

In addition to the survey work, I observed people both inside the World Heritage sites and the villages, both at a distance (direct observation), or while interacting with them during

exploring the sites myself or during the survey work (participant observation). The latter definition is elaborated by Delamont as follows: "'participant' does not mean doing what those being observed do, but interacting with them while they do it. The researcher may do the same things, but that is not a requirement" (Delamont 2007, 206).

A field notebook was used for recording details of all interactions and observations, either on the spot, or at the end of the day. This added context and a layer of direct perception to the standard data collection methods. While accuracy has always been sought, the notebook therefore however does not contain verbatim copies of what was said or done, but has to some extent been edited and interpreted. This is what Geertz has termed 'thick description':

> "Right down at the factual base, the hard rock, insofar as there is any, of the whole enterprise, we are already explicating, and worse explicating explications."
>
> *(Geertz 1973, 9–10).*

### 4.5.6 Archival research

Background and contextual material for both the planning and analysis of the research has also been collected from a range of archives. Principal among these are the India Office files at the British Library, which contain a large amount of unpublished reports and correspondence from the East India Company and colonial administration, up until independence. The annual reports of the Archaeological Survey of India (*Indian Archaeology: A Review*), have also provided a useful source, with details of most excavations conducted in the country since 1953.

The archives of newspapers such as the *Times of India*, *The Statesman* and *Les Temps* were searched, and a large number of articles used as contemporary background material. District gazetteers, the Indian censuses from 1931 to 2011, and reports of government departments (e.g. tourism, forestry) at both national and state level were used to source a range of statistics.

### 4.5.7 Difficulties, risks and limitations

My visitor survey work at Bhimbetka and Sanchi proceeded relatively smoothly with the permission and assistance of the ASI, Bhopal Circle. This meant that the ASI staff on the site knew who I was, and were prepared to offer advice and support, and I was able to get started immediately. In return, the first section of the visitor surveys contain data that may be of use to the ASI.

This was unfortunately not the case at Champaner-Pavagadh, and I was unable to secure the support of the ASI there. As I did not need their permission to visit the site or speak to members of the public, I went ahead with the work anyway, but I did lose 4-5 days of working time while trying to arrange things through them.

The main difficulties encountered at all three sites were with the village surveys. Due to the lower than average educational and literacy levels of the people in the villages I found that I needed to significantly simplify the questionnaires. This was also in part due to the difficulty of communicating complex ideas such as identity and time in both directions due to cultural distance, as described by Geertz:

> "To grasp concepts that, for other people, are experience-near, and to do so well enough to put them in illuminating connection with experience-distant concepts theorists have fashioned to capture the general features of social life, is clearly a task at least as delicate, if a bit less magical, as putting oneself into someone else's skin."
>
> *(Geertz 2001, 260)*

I also found it necessary to shorten the questionnaires, as the villagers took a bit longer to complete the forms, and of course also had other things that they needed to be doing.

If language, assistance and time had permitted, I would have much preferred to have conducted fully open interviews with the villagers. The disadvantages of a purely questionnaire-based approach are well identified by Seale:

> "If everyday life were limited to one-shot communications of meaning, it would appear strange indeed, bereft of the possibilities that derive from changing one's mind, considering what transpired earlier, and orientations to future occasions when one anticipates being given the opportunity to re-express oneself. Yet, in broad outline, this is precisely the kind of methodological practice that survey researchers, in particular, commonly apply in their investigations."
>
> *(Seale 2007a, 265)*

As such, it is hoped that the 'one-shot' communications captured by this research are sufficient to make meaningful inferences, while pointing the way for more in-depth studies in future that explore the results more fully with more open-ended methods.

The bigger problem I encountered was with establishing sufficient rapport with the villagers in order to gain their trust and be able to approach them with the surveys. While I was armed with questionnaires in Hindi and Gujarati, I found it was also necessary to be able to carry out at least a basic conversation in at least Hindi. I needed to be able to introduce myself, explain where I was from, what I was doing, and ask for permission to use the data

for my work. Being able to ask people about their work and crops, or to joke with children also helped to break the ice.

It was also much more difficult, and inadvisable, to attempt to establish rapport with women in the villages. I had planned to take a female researcher with me at each site but this fell through, and as a result I was generally only able to involve women who were accompanied by men in the survey. As a result the village surveys do have a significant gender bias.

During the survey at Champaner-Pavagadh, in particular on Pavagadh hill, I also encountered a degree of hostility. Fielding defines this situation very well:

> "Hostile research environments are those where the research population is actively resistant to research. It isn't simply indifferent, uninformed, or susceptible to being upset by certain questions or poor technique. It does not want research done, and if research nevertheless takes place, it seeks to control the research and the researcher."
>
> *(Fielding 2007, 237)*

In this case one of the first people I attempted to interview told me that I should not be doing the survey, and followed me about discouraging others from taking part. I therefore left Pavagadh hill out of the survey, and concentrated on Champaner and Halol instead, where I had no similar problems. I have also made the decision not to publish some of the information I was given during these village surveys as it was relatively contentious, and it is better to mitigate the risk of identification of participants, and also to avoid any possible negative reactions towards myself, in line with the advice of Back:

> "… the first and most fundamental point is to be careful about the risks involved when venturing into the public sphere and openly criticizing groups that may have the power to harass and harm you."
>
> *(Back 2007, 262)*

As Leach has noted, it is virtually impossible for an ethnographer or other field researcher not to 'contaminate' their evidence, simply influencing the participants responses by their very presence, especially if there is a visible technology gap between researcher and subject (Leach 2001, 52). In order to mitigate this as much as possible, I dressed as simply as possible, and just used a simple pen and paper for the questionnaires, keeping computers, voice recorders and cameras out of sight.

I also attempted to work reflexively, thinking back on my research at the end of each day and considering how my behaviour and judgements could be affecting the results.

Reflexivity can however be a too-consuming process, whereby "… it generates understandings and at the same time casts doubt on the validity of those understandings as it makes it clear that self-awareness is a continuing process" (Karp et al. 2001, 46). There is therefore a risk that research can become overly theorised and self-referential, in the end neglecting the real subjects (Brannen 2007, 283). I therefore took as common sense an approach as possible, aiming for consistency and getting the job done above all.

## 4.6 Data analysis

Both the quantitative and qualitative answers to the questionnaires were numerically coded and then statistically analysed using R and R studio. For the qualitative data very simple coding was used, essentially associating the answers with themes (Silverman et al. 2008, 53). As the number of qualitative samples was relatively low, and the samples short, a computer-aided system was not needed. This data was also used selectively to illustrate interesting opinions expressed by participants, and in all cases the English translation of the data is given in the thesis.

When interpreting the qualitative data, especially the longer answers given, I have again attempted to be reflexive in my approach, interpreting the texts as much as is possible within their cultural context, while being as aware as possible of how my own context distorts this act.

The quantitative data is initially described using frequency analysis, contingency tables, and graphs. It is then further analysed to assess which variables were influential, to measure difference and associations between groups, and to evaluate statistical significance. The methods used to analyse and compare the various question and data types are given below in Table 23.

<table>
<tr><td></td><td>Category and list</td><td>Continuum scale, irregular</td><td>Continuum scale, regular</td><td>Binary category</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>Nominal</td><td>Irregular</td><td>Interval/ratio</td><td>Dichotomous</td></tr>
<tr><td>Category and list<br>Nominal</td><td>Contingency tab.<br>Chi-square<br>Fisher</td><td>Contingency tab.<br>Chi-square<br>Fisher</td><td>Contingency tab.<br>Chi-square<br>Fisher</td><td>Contingency tab.<br>Chi-square<br>Fisher</td></tr>
<tr><td>Continuum scale, irregular<br>Irregular</td><td>Contingency tab.<br>Chi-square<br>Fisher</td><td>Spearman's rho</td><td>Spearman's rho</td><td>Spearman's rho</td></tr>
<tr><td>Continuum scale, regular</td><td>Contingency tab.<br>Chi-square</td><td>Spearman's rho</td><td>Pearson's r</td><td>Spearman's rho</td></tr>
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| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Interval/ratio | Fisher | | | |
| Binary category | Contingency tab.<br>Chi-square<br>Fisher | Spearman's rho | Spearman's rho | phi |
| Dichotomous | | | | |

Table 23: Statistical methods employed according to question and data types (modified from Bryman 2012, 340)

The statistical significance of the relationship between all combinations of answers was computed, mostly using a combination of contingency tables and Fisher's exact test (R.A 1950, 81) which is the most accurate for smaller samples. This yielded 20,970 p-values for all of the three sites and two questionnaires combined. Results of $p>0.5$ were filtered out, leaving 1,148 hypotheses for further investigation. These were checked for relevance to the research questions, and further reduced to a pool of 310 that were used in the final analysis. As it is recognised that over-reliance on p-values is problematic (Wasserstein et al. 2016, 132), especially for smaller survey sizes (McDonald 2014, 77–80), wherever possible the results were analysed conservatively and considered in the light of context and other evidence.

## 4.7 Ethical approach

Professional ethics have been considered for all aspects of this thesis, including data collection, analysis and dissemination.

### 4.7.1 Access to study areas

While permission was not strictly required for access to the World Heritage sites, or to question visitors there, it was sought from the ASI in all cases as a matter of courtesy. It was not possible to obtain this permission for Champaner, so the survey was proceeded with regardless.

### 4.7.2 Informed consent

During the trial survey at Bhimbetka, the permission sheet in appendix 2, which explains the research project and how the data will be used, was read and signed by the participants. Many people however seemed uncomfortable with signing the documents and several decided not to go ahead with the survey because of this. Going forward I therefore explained the project verbally and requested oral consent instead, including from the parents of any participants under the age of 18 (although only data from those over 18

was used due to the survey design). This was deemed acceptable practice as it is relatively common in 'north-south' projects such as this one (Ryen 2007, 221).

It should be noted that the UCL does not require proactive consent for paper questionnaire surveys (UCL 2016), but this was nonetheless considered important.

### 4.7.3 Protection of confidentiality

In order to protect the confidentiality of participants, no names were recorded on survey forms. Where comments touch on potentially sensitive topics, they have either been removed from the dataset, or published with no contextual information that could help to identify the person. This is particularly the case with the village surveys as these people, and especially tribal people, are especially vulnerable.

### 4.7.4 Beneficience

Social science research should ideally be an arrangement under which both the researcher and the participants benefit, and it is important to not 'burn the field', by betraying the latter's trust to the extent that they are reluctant to engage with research in future (Gobo 2008, 161).

In the case of this research, I have attempted to benefit the both the visitors and the local communities. Firstly, the data and the analysis is to be shared with the ASI, potentially helping them to improve the site for visitors, and to improve relations with the local communities. Secondly, the thesis and its data are to be made publicly available under a Creative Commons CC BY open access license. Both of these things were explained to participants before they took part (see appendix 2).

# 5 Case Studies

## 5.1 Introduction

The three case study sites chosen for this thesis are all located in Central India. Bhimbetka and Sanchi are located approximately 90km apart in the state of Madhya Pradesh, while Champaner-Pavagadh is located to the West in the state of Gujarat (see Figure 11).

Figure 11: Map of India showing the locations of Gujarat, Madhya Pradesh, and the case study sites.

This chapter provides a background to each of the case study sites, including regional history, geography, ecology, demographics and economics. The history of each site is then examined, from development through to inscription on the World Heritage List.

### 5.1.1 Background to case studies one and two

As the case study sites of Bhimbetka and Sanchi are located in the same state and district, this section will provide a common regional overview.

#### *5.1.1.1 Madhya Pradesh and Raisen district*

For much of its history, the area that currently comprises Madhya Pradesh was in tribal hands. But portions (though not usually the hill country) were periodically politically dominated by other groups (see Table 24). The earliest records are of the Avanti clan in the 6th C BCE, which had set borders but no political centralisation (Keay 2001, 50). The Avantis were followed by the Mauryan Empire during the 4th-3rd C BCE, including the emperor Ashoka who would play a critical role in the development of Sanchi (Keay 2001, 90).

| Period | Political influence/dominance | Reference |
|---|---|---|
| BCE | | |
| 6th C | Avantis | (Keay 2001, 50) |
| 4th-3rd C | Mauryans | (Keay 2001, 85) |
| 2nd-1st C | Shakas | (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 78) |
| CE | | |
| 1st C | Kushanas | (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 79) |
| 1st-3rd C | Shatavahanas | (Keay 2001, 229) |
| 4th-6th C | Guptas | (Keay 2001, 130) |
| 7th C | King Harsha of Kanauj | (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 109) |
| 8th-10th C | Gurjara Pratiharas | (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 114) |
| 10th-11th C | Rajput kings of Paramra | (Keay 2001, 226) |
| 11th-13th C | Chandellas | (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 117–118) |
| 10th-13th C | Bhils | (Malcolm 1824, 521; Ritter 1836, 611) |
| 13th C | Tomars | (Keay 2001, 199) |
| 13th-16th C | Gonds (Garha Mandla kingdom) | (Forsyth 1889, 7; Chatterton 1916, 11; Koreti 2016, 288) |
| 14th C | Kaljis (sultanate) | (Keay 2001, 256) |
| 16th-17th C | Mughals | (Keay 2001, 312) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 18th 19th C | Marathas | (Keay 2001, 350) |
| 19th-20th C | British and princely states | (Keay 2001, 413) |

Table 24: Political dominance in the area of modern Madhya Pradesh throughout history.

In the 10th C CE the Rajputs began a period of dominance. This resulted in a large amount of tribal migration from the north and stimulated the establishment of more politically organised tribal strongholds and kingdoms, with well-developed political systems and architecture. Almost all standard histories of India completely omit this fact and perpetuate a blinkered, racially stereotyped view of tribal cultures, for example that the Vindhya region had "never played a prominent role in Indian History" (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 16), despite good evidence to the contrary.

Central India was still largely untouched by the Vedic cultures, with no reference to the Narmada river in the Rgveda for example (Bhattacharyya 1977, 3), which allowed the tribal groups to prosper unchallenged. Thus the Bhil tribe played a significant role from the 10th-13th century, as described by Ritter:

> "The Annals say that the Rajput Rajas from Odeypur first conquered the Bhils in 1112 AD, who were still the holders of Mewar in the 11th century. This appears to have been the period of their displacement and migration to the Narmada and Tapti in the south."
>
> *(Ritter 1836, 611, transl. author)*

Malcolm also made clear that even in 1824 the Bhils were not simple hill-dwellers, and had a very distinct sense of their own history:

> "The Bheels are quite a distinct race from any other Indian Tribe, yet few among the latter have higher pretentions to antiquity… they assert, and on authentic grounds, that they long maintained exclusive possession of the hilly tracts under their leaders, many of whom were as distinguished by their character as by their wealth and power."
>
> *(Malcolm 1824, 517–520)*

Following and overlapping with the Bhils, the Gonds also rose to ascendency in the region, in particular the Garha Mandla kingdom ruled by the king Jadurai from the 14th-the 18th century (Koreti 2016, 288), one of four kingdoms that made up an area known as 'Gondwana' (Bhukya 2013, 291). The evidence of the well-developed political culture of the Gonds was very clear and was described in contemporary works such as Abu-l Fazil's Akbar-Nama (translation in Elliot 1875, 31).

This did not deter racist interpretations on the part of colonial historians such as James Forsyth, who wrote that the by the 14th century:

> "…we find the country then called by the name of Góndwáná, from the tribe of Gónds who chiefly inhabited it. … it has often been wondered how a tribe of such rude savages as the Gónds could have reached a stage of civilisation at that early period so greatly above anything they have since shown themselves capable of…"
>
> *(Forsyth 1889, 7–8)*

Forsyth was by no means sympathetic to the Gonds, describing them as possessing a "thickness of lip and animal type countenance of the pure aborigine" (Forsyth 1889, 9), and this included a complete indifference to their culture and any loss of tradition that was taking place:

> "There is nothing that is worth preserving in these rudimentary indigenous tongues; and their inevitable absorption in the more copious *lingua franca* of the plains is not at all to be regretted."
>
> *(Forsyth 1889, 148)*

Much of Forsyth's bitterness could possibly be traced to the fact that the Gonds were by no means fully subjugated during the British administration of the Central Provinces. Ongoing Gond raids repeatedly damaged agricultural crops and thus impacted colonial revenues (Chatterton 1916, 94), and forced the British to negotiate with each of the Gond Rajas and chiefs in turn in order to maintain control (Bhukya 2013, 2986). Thus the important position of the Gonds was recognised at least officially, as evidenced by the Central Provinces map of 1880, which clearly labels the region as Gondwana (see Figure 12).

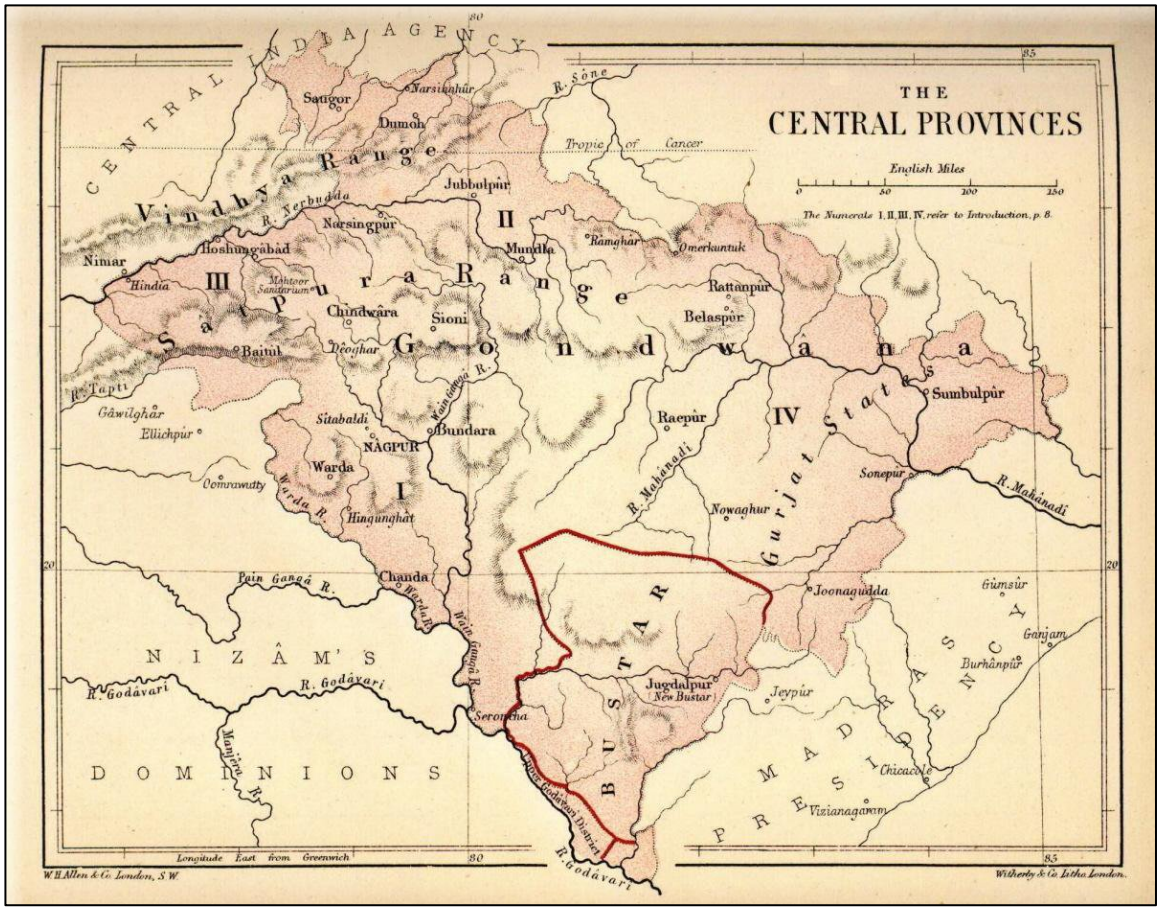



Figure 12: Map showing the Central Provinces in 1880, labelled as Gondwana (source: Pope 1880, 8).

The Gonds were also studied by Eyre Chatterton, a colonial bishop who took a much more considered approach than Forsyth, recognising the scale of the Gond kingdoms, and rejecting the racist view that the they were incapable of being the true originators of their own civilisation:

> "… nearly 600 years ago, four independent Gond kingdoms arose, more or less simultaneously, in Gondwana… these kingdoms lasted on for nearly four centuries until the Maratha for a time introduced chaos…"
>
> "For the most part we may think of the Rajahs of these four dynasties as Gonds pure and simple, who had raised themselves by superior ability and force of character to the position of rulers over their people. Nor need we regard this as making too great a claim for the capacity of an aboriginal race… when we meet some of the present Gond rulers of our Feudatory States in the Central Provinces.
>
> *(Chatterton 1916, 9–11)*

The above descriptions show that both the Bhils and Gonds in the 19th-20th centuries still possessed an awareness of their important historical position in the region. For the Gonds this culminated in the Gond Maha Sabha movement in the early 20th century, which

rejected Hinduisation, and sought special rights as *adivasis* instead, much to the disdain of the unfortunately rather racist Aboriginal Tribes Enquiry Officer, W.V. Grigson. Grigson downplayed the importance of the movement, and portrayed it as largely limited to the Mandla district (Grigson 1940, 40), but it is likely that its influence was also felt in Raisen district, some 300km to the west.

The surveys conducted for these case studies have therefore attempted to involve a representative number of tribal people from the local community in order to ascertain the degree to which the regional past informs their identities today.

Muslim influence grew from the 14th century onwards, with the Kalji sultanate (Keay 2001, 256) followed by Mughal rule in the 16th and 17th centuries (Keay 2001, 312). The Mughals finally gave way to the invading Marathas (Keay 2001, 350), who governed until the British arrived in the 19th century. None of these cultures ever ruled in any way completely over the region, and after many centuries of changing dominance combined with entrenched tribal power, the British faced a highly complicated scenario:

> "Following the break-up of the Mughal Empire and the destruction of Maratha power by the British, the area had no master until the settlement of Sir John Malcolm in 1818. He decided to legitimize the rule of seventy-three semi-sovereign princes, and to place a major part of the southern zone of the state under direct British administration."
>
> *(Wilcox 1968, 128)*

With British colonial rule, the region was split into the Central Provinces and Berar under direct British rule, and the Central India Agency (or Central India), which comprised the independent princely states. On independence in 1947, the former became Madhya Pradesh, while the latter was split into Madhya Bahrat, Bhopal and Vindhya Pradesh (Bhattacharyya 1977, 41).

When Madhya Pradesh was formed in 1956 by merging of the colonial states of Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh with the princely state of Bhopal, representing a total of 61 former Indian states (Bakshi et al. 2007) (and see Figure 13), it was the largest state by area in the country (Gov. India 2011k, 29). Now relegated to second place behind Rajasthan due to the secession of Chhattisgarh in 2000 (Gov. India 2000), at 308,252km$^2$ the state nonetheless accounts for 9.38% of Indian land area (UNICEF 2016), and is still 27% larger than the United Kingdom.

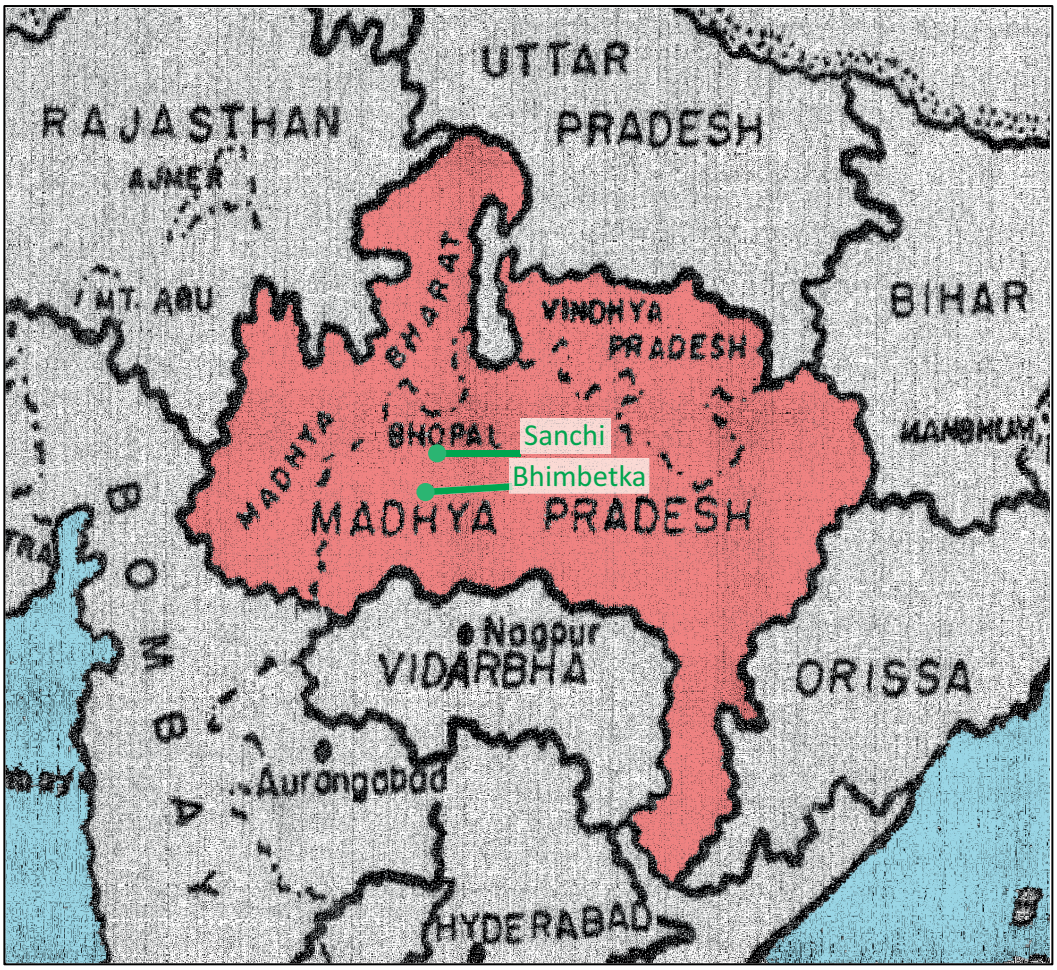



Figure 13: Map showing Madhya Pradesh as determined by the 1955 States Reorganisation Committee (modified from TEW 1955, 1255).

The reasons for the state taking its current form were largely administrative rather than due to internal agitation, as "there was nothing else to do with its constituent parts", and despite Hindi being the dominant language, there was little communication between the various areas of the region (Weiner 1968, 16). This is reflected in the successive names used for the territory from colonial rule to independence. Malcolm noted that the name Central India was "… still indefinite as to the exact limits of the territories it comprehends… [and] hardly to be traced in the best maps…", while the actual Indian names were unfortunately "harsh and unpleasant to an Englishman's ear, and fatiguing to his memory" (Malcolm 1824, iii–iv). Today the name Madhya Pradesh is also effectively no more than an administrative title, being simply a translation of Central Provinces, even though there is a significant difference in the areas of these two territories (Sircar 1977, vii). It is therefore particularly interesting to query to what extent people in one part of the state possess a sense of common identity with heritage in another, a question that is addressed in these case studies.

Both Bhimbetka and Sanchi fall within Madhya Pradesh's Raisen district (see Figure 14). While both sites are situated near the borders of the district, all of the villages involved in the case study surveys are still located within it. Because of this it has only been necessary to use data from Raisen itself to gain a contextual understanding of the surveys, and that of neighbouring districts has been ignored.

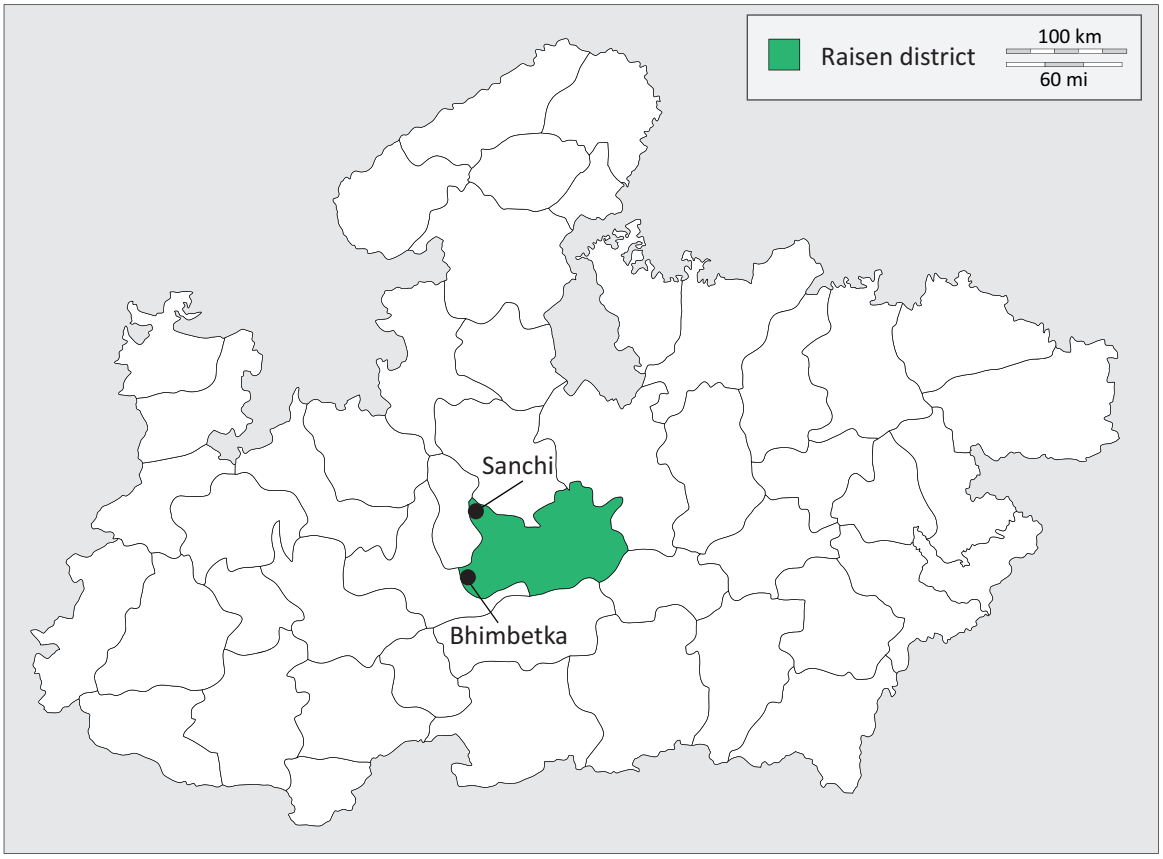
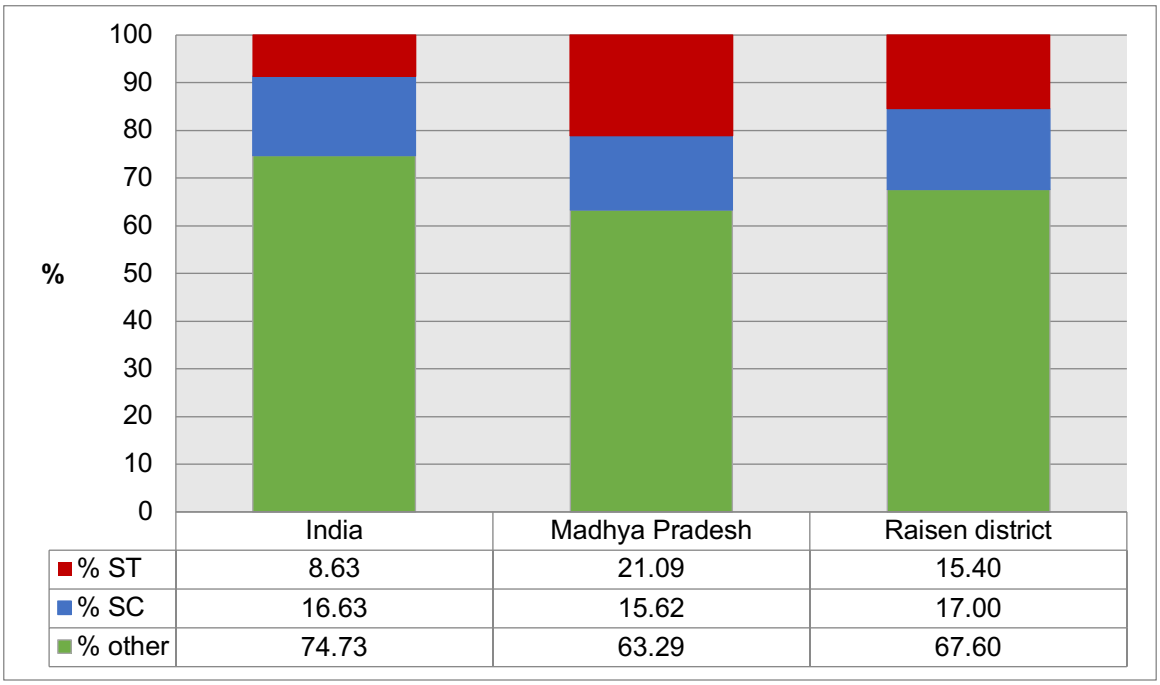



Figure 14: The locations of Raisen district, Bhimbetka and Sanchi within the state of Madhya Pradesh today.

The populations of Madhya Pradesh and Raisen district in the 2011 census were 72.6 million and 1.3 million respectively (Gov. India 2011a). The state has the largest number of Scheduled Tribes in India with 43, and contains 40 per cent of India's total tribal population (UNICEF 2016), with more than double the proportion of elsewhere in India (Gov. India 2011g). 38.3% of the combined Scheduled Tribe and Scheduled Caste (dalit) population of Madhya Pradesh live below the poverty line (Gov. India 2011k, 25). The proportions of these populations for state, district and all of India are shown in Figure 15.




| | India | Madhya Pradesh | Raisen district |
|---|---|---|---|
| % ST | 8.63 | 21.09 | 15.40 |
| % SC | 16.63 | 15.62 | 17.00 |
| % other | 74.73 | 63.29 | 67.60 |

Figure 15: The proportions of Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Scheduled Castes (SC) in the populations of India, Madhya Pradesh and Raisen district in 2011 (data source: Gov. India 2011g).

Reflecting the past dominance of the Gonds and Bhils in the region, Figure 16 shows the makeup of the tribal population in Raisen district.

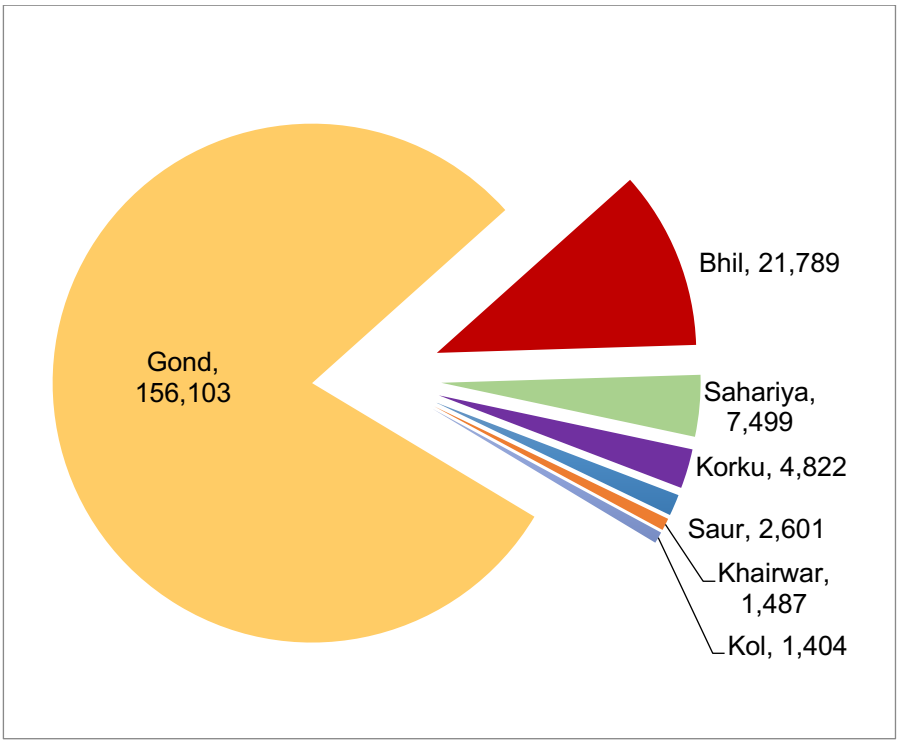
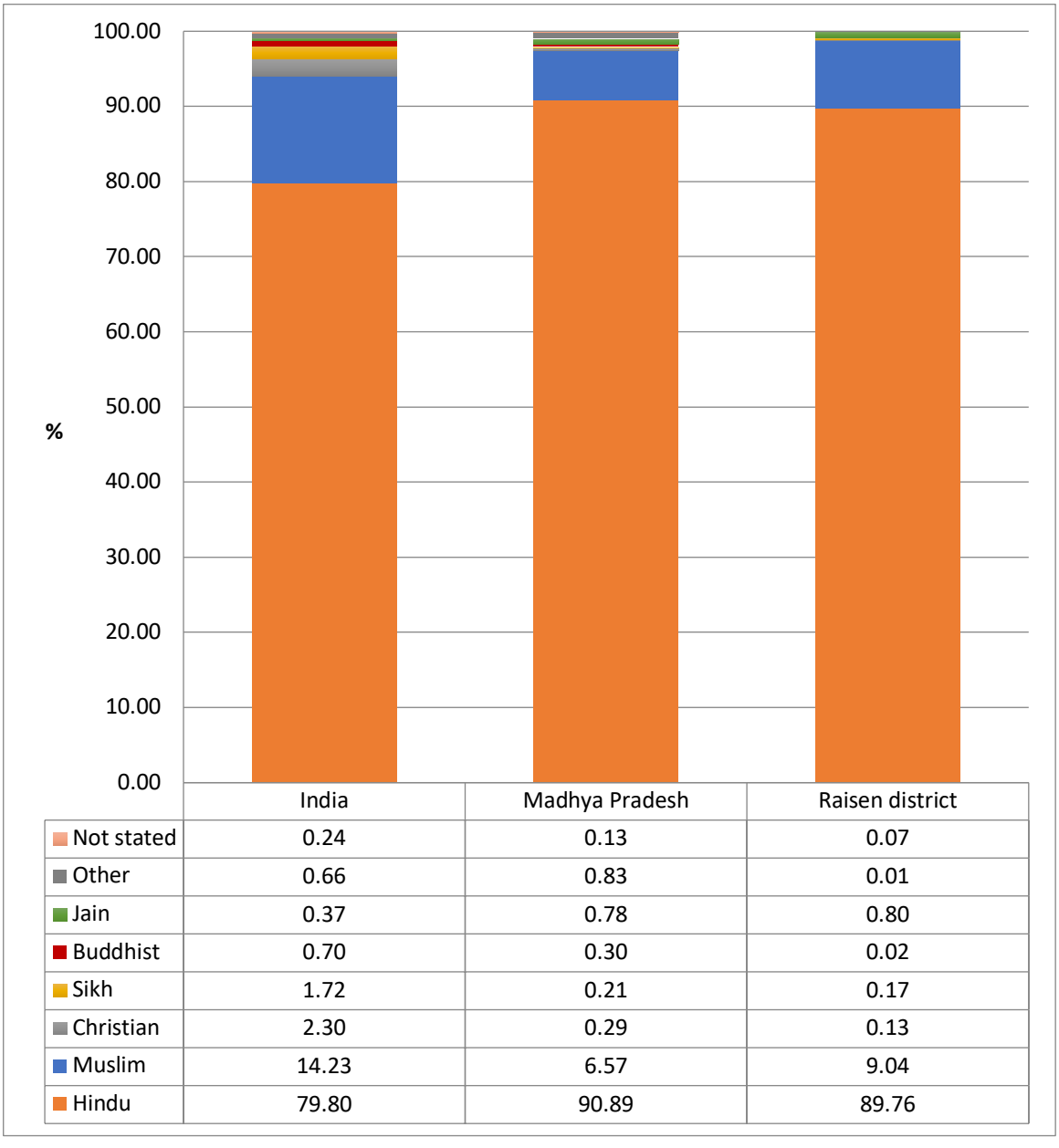



Figure 16: Breakdown of the tribal population of Raisen district, with communities of over 1,000 members (data source: Gov. India 2011b).

This relatively high tribal and dalit population does not translate to higher proportions of tribal or other religions. In fact the number professing the majority Hindu religion are around 10% higher than the national average in both state and district (see Figure 17). Raisen district has a proportionately higher Muslim population than the rest of the state, which can be attributed to the fact that prior to independence it had always belonged to Bhopal State (Bhattacharyya 1977, 54). One of the few places that had been under very benevolent Muslim rule in central India, Bhopal thus provided a relatively safe area during partition and experienced less emigration than did other areas (Wilcox 1968, 136).




| | India | Madhya Pradesh | Raisen district |
|---|---|---|---|
| Not stated | 0.24 | 0.13 | 0.07 |
| Other | 0.66 | 0.83 | 0.01 |
| Jain | 0.37 | 0.78 | 0.80 |
| Buddhist | 0.70 | 0.30 | 0.02 |
| Sikh | 1.72 | 0.21 | 0.17 |
| Christian | 2.30 | 0.29 | 0.13 |
| Muslim | 14.23 | 6.57 | 9.04 |
| Hindu | 79.80 | 90.89 | 89.76 |

Figure 17: Size of religious communities India, Madhya Pradesh and Raisen district in 2011 (Gov. India 2011c).

There are however proportionately higher numbers of speakers of tribal languages, with 4.92% claiming Bhili/Bhilodi as a mother tongue, and 1.53% Gondi (see Figure 18), indicating that disadvantaged groups see more advantage in changing religion than language in order to improve their conditions, which is consistent with the discussion of caste mobility in chapter one.

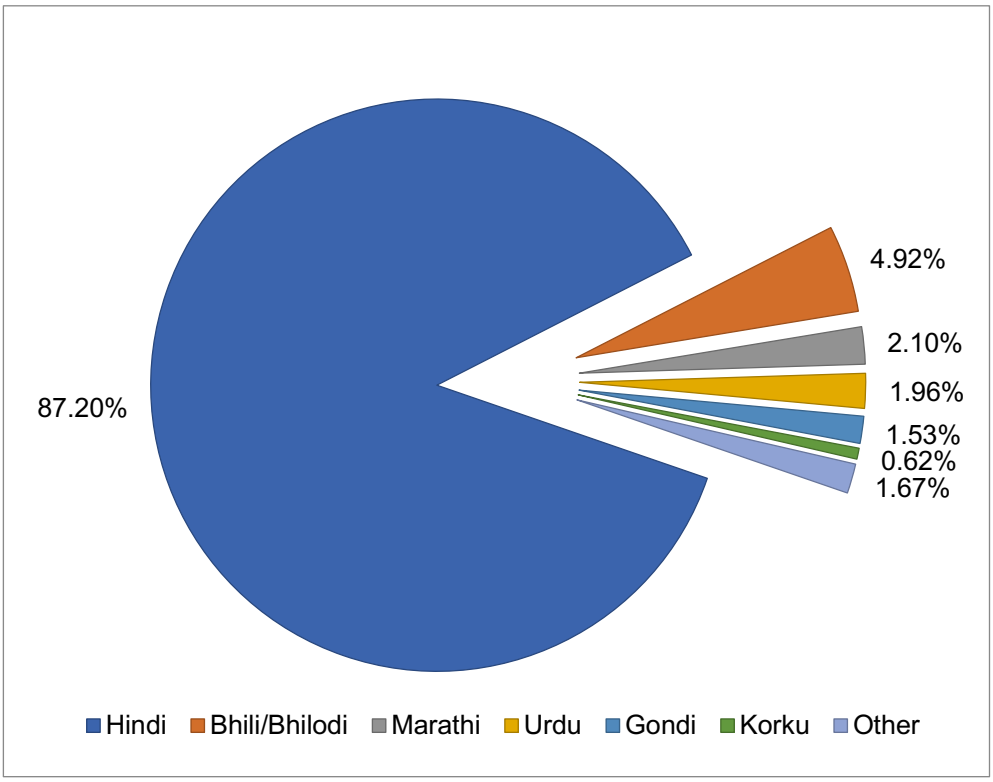



Figure 18: Percentage of mother tongue speakers for Madhya Pradesh in 2001 (data source: Gov. India 2001a; Gov. India 2001b). More recent and district-level language statistics from the 2011 census are yet to be released.

In terms of education levels, almost all children of primary school age are enrolled, and the growth in literacy (to 59% for M.P. and 61.6% in Raisen in 2011, see Figure 19) exceeds the national average (Gov. India 2011k, 140). Primary and middle/intermediate education levels are higher than the national average, while higher education is somewhat lower (see Figure 20). With 9 universities, 18 national level institutions, 78 engineering colleges, 18 medical colleges and 47 polytechnics, opportunities for higher education are however expanding (Gov. India 2011k, 145).

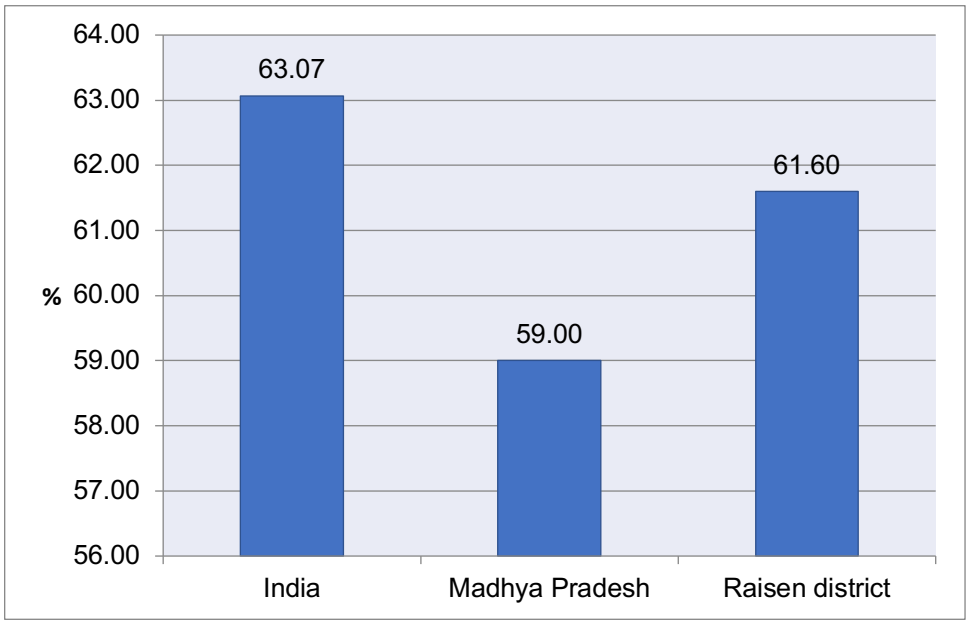
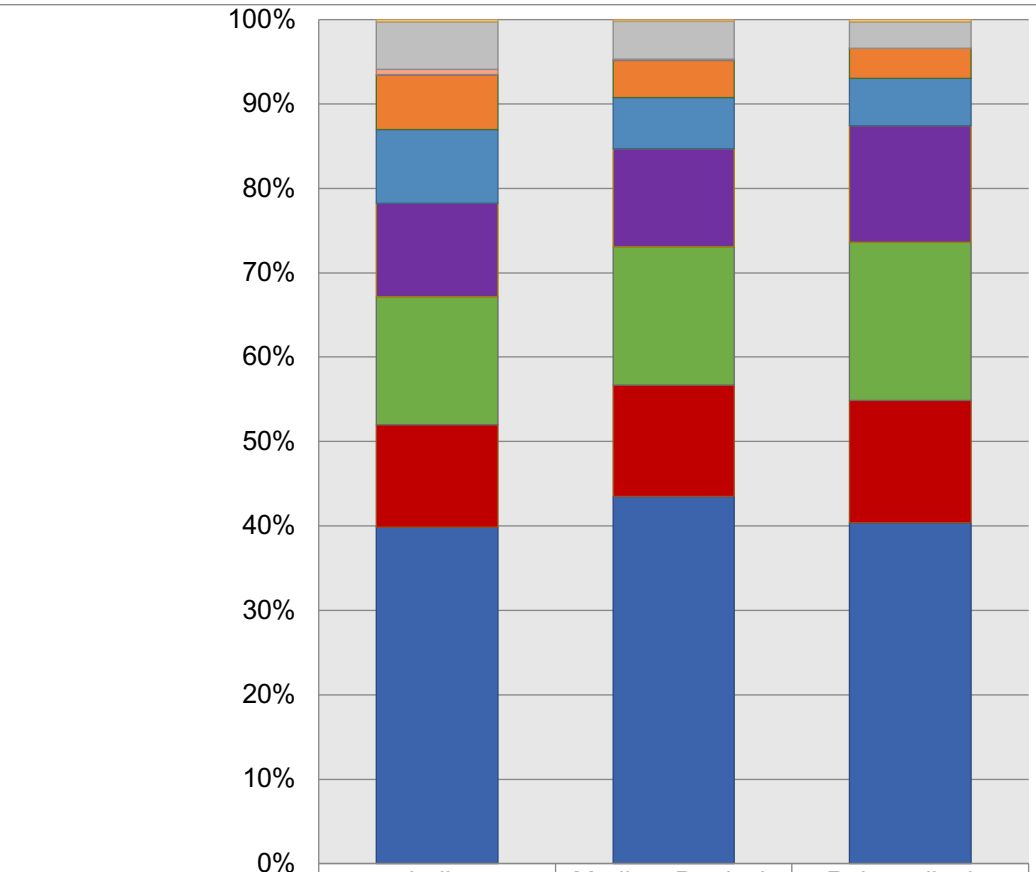


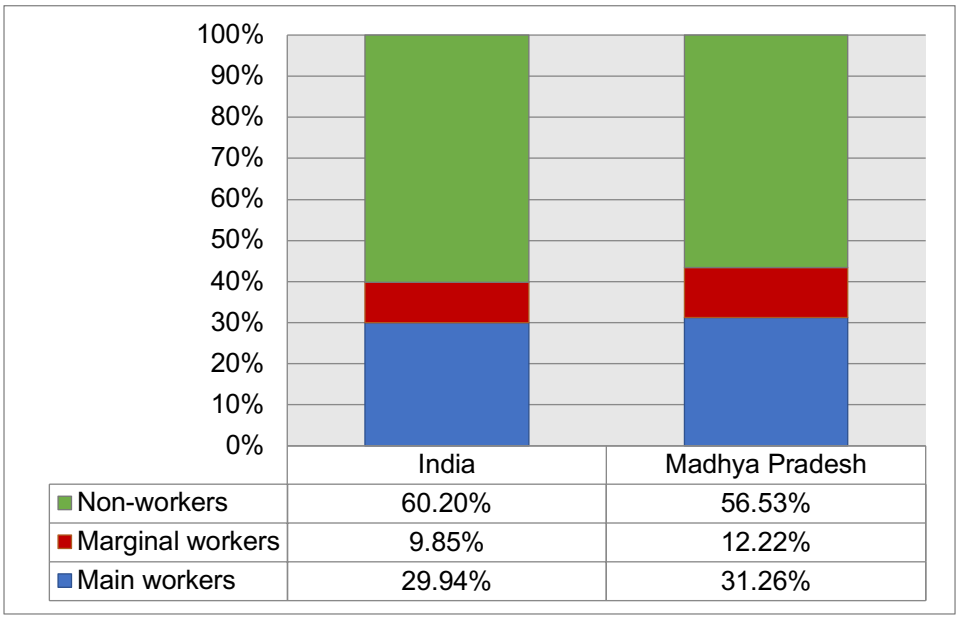

Figure 19: Literate population size for India, Madhya Pradesh and Raisen district in 2011 (data source: Gov. India 2011g).




| | India | Madhya Pradesh | Raisen district |
|---|---|---|---|
| Unclassified | 0.25% | 0.21% | 0.25% |
| Graduate & above | 5.64% | 4.44% | 3.12% |
| Technical dipl./cert. | 0.60% | 0.14% | 0.05% |
| Non-technical dipl./cert. | 0.09% | 0.01% | 0.01% |
| Higher secondary | 6.44% | 4.40% | 3.51% |
| Secondary | 8.75% | 6.12% | 5.62% |
| Middle | 11.06% | 11.61% | 13.86% |
| Primary | 15.21% | 16.36% | 18.68% |
| Below primary | 12.13% | 13.19% | 14.49% |
| None | 39.84% | 43.53% | 40.41% |

Figure 20: Educational level for all ages for India, Madhya Pradesh and Raisen district in 2011 (data source: Gov. India 2011d).

Recording relatively high population growth levels compared to the rest of India, Madhya Pradesh is struggling to keep up in terms of providing services and infrastructure (Gov. India 2011k, 242). Already possessing the 9$^{th}$ biggest economy in India, the state has the highest potential of all in areas such as food production, energy sources and iron (Wilcox 1968, 127). Overall employment is higher than in India overall, although 57 per cent of the population is classed as seeking work, with 12 per cent described as marginal, working less than six months per year (see Figure 21).




| | India | Madhya Pradesh |
|---|---|---|
| Non-workers | 60.20% | 56.53% |
| Marginal workers | 9.85% | 12.22% |
| Main workers | 29.94% | 31.26% |

Figure 21: Employment levels for India and Madhya Pradesh in 2011 (data source: Gov. India 2011d).

There has nonetheless been a drop in rural poverty of around 25 per cent since the 1970's (Gov. India 2011k, 39), and the state's human development index rose from 0.245 in 1981 to 0.375 in 2008 (UNDP 2012, 1).

With a predominantly rural and agrarian economy, around 71 per cent of Madhya Pradesh's population is dependent on agriculture (Gov. India 2011k, 46). 3,930,000 farmers are classed as small and marginal with average landholdings of 0.91 hectares, and are required to seek additional employment such as casual labouring in order to sustain a living (Gov. India 2011k, 249).

Madhya Pradesh also has the largest forest resources of any Indian state, covering 25.13 per cent of the land (FSI 2015, 40), and 55 per cent of the predominantly tribal areas (FSI 2015, 52). Nearly 40 per cent of the state's villages are either in or close to forests, which play a significant role in people's livelihoods (Gov. India 2011k, 50). The forests are particularly rich in biodiversity (UNICEF 2016), and form a significant part of tribal people's resources and incomes, especially with regard to the collection of medicinal plants for both their own use and sale to pharmaceutical companies (Purushothaman et al. 2000, 71). Again in Raisen the proportion of forest cover is higher than average, at 32.37% (FSI 2003, 3).

As traditional means of earning income are becoming harder to sustain, tourism (and therefore heritage) is starting to offer alternative income sources. Visitor numbers to Madhya Pradesh are increasing at a rate of 20 per cent each year (Gov. India 2011k, 203),

which is highly impressive compared to rates of 7.6 per cent for all India, and 3.6 per cent globally (WTTC 2015, 9). As the state has no international airport, it is handicapped with regard to attracting foreign tourists, projected to have been worth $26 billion to India in 2015 (Ghossal 2013), and currently earns around 1,000 times more from the domestic rather than the foreign market (Gov. India 2011k, 203), as compared to around four times for the rest of India (WTTC 2015, 6). As a combined result of marketing by the Madhya Pradesh government and the rising incomes of the Indian middle class, tourist numbers have increased steadily over the past decade, in all by more than 700% (see Figure 22).

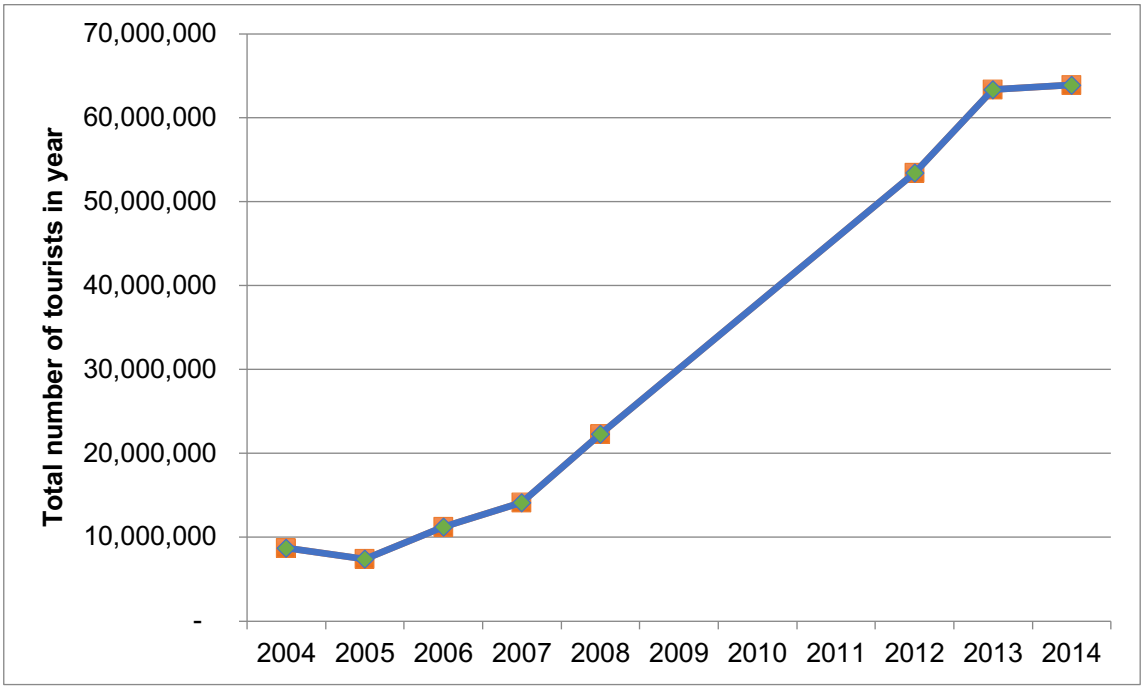



Figure 22: Increase in annual tourist numbers for Madhya Pradesh from 2004-2014 (combined data source: Gov. India 2011k, 204; MPSTDC 2015, 4).

Madhya Pradesh's growth in tourism can be linked to its richness in cultural and natural heritage, as well as its central location for domestic tourists, who are attracted by nine national parks, 25 wildlife sanctuaries, five tiger reserves, and three World Heritage sites (Gov. India 2011k, 162). The distribution of sites is shown below in Figure 23.

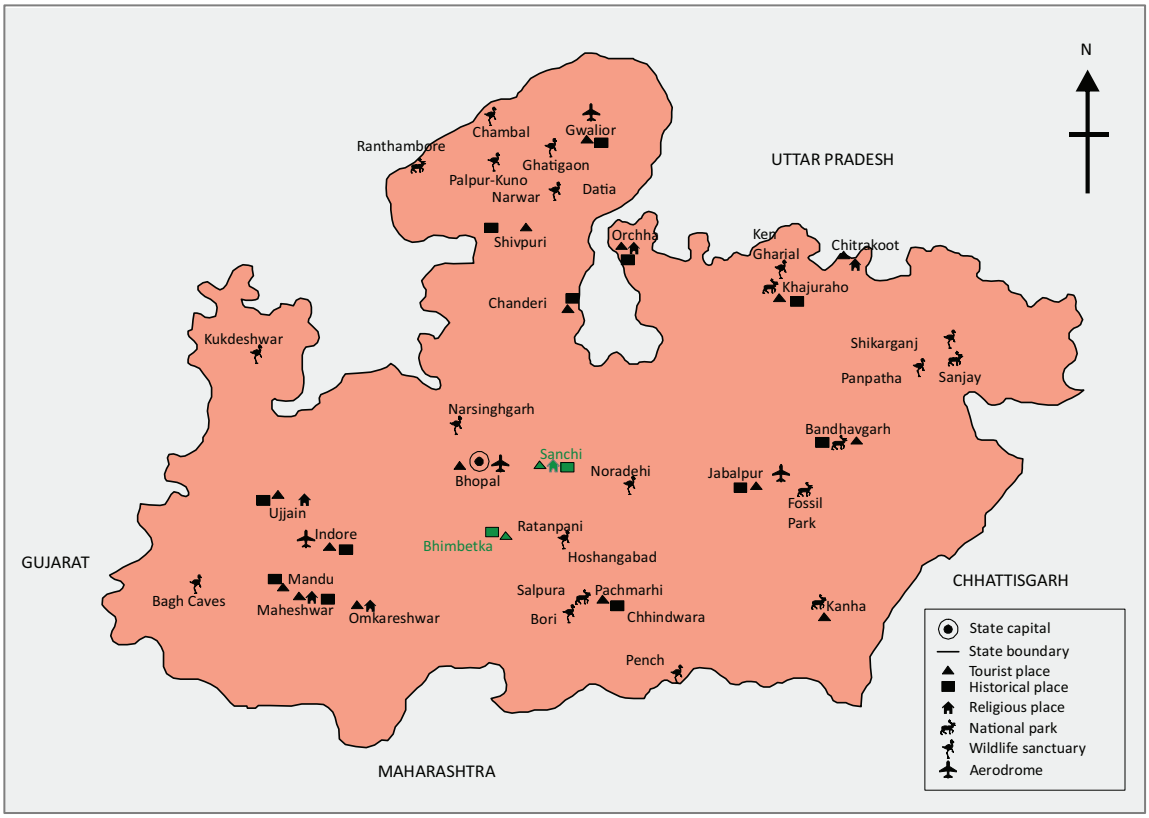



Figure 23: Distribution of tourist sites in Madhya Pradesh (modified from Gov. India 2011k, 200).

The numbers of tourists visiting the main sites in the state in 2008 are shown in Table 25, with the two case study sites highlighted. That the greatest driving factor for tourism is religion can be seen in the fact that the top four sites, more popular than others by a wide margin, are all popular pilgrimage destinations.

| Location | Domestic | Foreigner | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Chitrakoot | 9142009 | 664 | 9142673 |
| Ujjain | 5839900 | 2215 | 5842115 |
| Omkareshwar | 2364000 | 1447 | 2365447 |
| Amarkantak | 1995000 | 48 | 1995048 |
| Bhedaghat | 559320 | 1382 | 560702 |
| Mandu | 514892 | 7247 | 522139 |
| Pachmarhi | 497270 | 138 | 497408 |
| Khajuraho | 201443 | 89169 | 290612 |
| Gwalior | 197220 | 17841 | 215061 |
| Maheshwar | 173884 | 2250 | 176134 |
| Sanchi | 139603 | 12333 | 151936 |
| Orchha | 78958 | 53373 | 132331 |
| Kanha | 96707 | 18169 | 114876 |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bandhavgarh | 69641 | 24781 | 94422 |
| Panna | 56325 | 14419 | 70744 |
| Pench | 54641 | 4530 | 59171 |
| Bhuranpur | 54594 | 150 | 54744 |
| Bhimbetka | 36782 | 1492 | 38274 |
| Shivpuri | 16738 | 85 | 16823 |

Table 25: Tourist arrivals at sites in Madya Pradesh in 2008 (modified from Gov. India 2011k, 204)

Overall, the Madhya Pradesh State Tourist Development Corporation has realistic, pragmatic goals, according to its annual plan for 2015-16. Its primary driver is for the socio-economic development of the state, and "basic amenities are being developed on war footing at historical places", such as electricity and available drinking water (MPSTDC 2015, 2). The plan also contains a commitment to adhere to "the principle of 'First Conservation Later Tourism' for Cultural Heritage sites" to ensure sustainable development (MPSTDC 2015, 3).

Politically, Madhya Pradesh is currently heavily dominated by the BJP, who have held as many as 165 of 230 seats in the legislative assembly since 2003 (ToI 2013). There is therefore also a certain *Hindutva* element in the state that centres its attention on heritage at times. A recent example of this has been communal tensions centring on the mosque in the town of Dhar. The problem stems from an interpretation of the site by the soon to be disgraced Führer in 1893, who claimed that the mosque had in fact been a past centre for Sanskrit studies under King Bhoja, with a shrine to the Hindu goddess Sarasvatī, both assertions being completely incorrect (Willis 2012, 141). Despite being fully discredited, this misinterpretation has been recycled by Hindutva scholars to create a Hindu claim to the site (Sharma 2016), with the VHP organising protests and agitation (Biswas 2016). This resulted in communal violence in January 2016, where *Hindutva* activists burned dozens of Muslim shops in the town with the collusion of the local administration that did nothing to protect them (*Hindustan Times* 2016).

### 5.1.2 Background to case study three

As with Madhya Pradesh, Gujarat has a long tribal history, yet it was more comprehensively controlled by Hindu cultures from the 4th Century BCE onwards, as described by Forbes:

> "It is commonly believed that Goozerat was occupied from a remote period by rude tribes, the descendants of whom still exist, who bore a general resemblance to each other, but of the nature of whose religion or government

> little has been even traditionally handed down. According to Bishop Heber, they were unquestionably the original inhabitants of central and western India, and were driven to their fastnesses and desperate and miserable way of life by the invasion of those tribes, wherever they may have come from, who profess the Brahminical religion. 'This, the Rajpoots themselves virtually allow by admitting, in their traditional history, that most of their principal cities and fortresses were founded by such and such Bheel chiefs, and conquered from them by the children of the sun.'"
>
> *(Forbes 1878, 78)*

The first external group known to have made its mark however were the Harappans, who established settlements in the northern plains, Kutch, and the Saurashtran savannah (Possehl, 2002, 6). While often considered mainly to have been frontier farmers and herders (Possehl, 2002, 40), there is also good evidence that the Harappan sites in Gujarat were also heavily involved in trade, and it has been speculated that these settlements represented an eastward Harappan migration as conditions in the West became untenable with the drying out of the Saraswati river basin (Kenoyer 1998, 178).

The region contains one of the two largest and prototypical Harappan sites discovered in India so far at Dholavira (Bisht 1989, 71; Bisht 2013, 20), which played a role in controlling trade between Gujarat and the Indus Plain (Kenoyer 1998, 49). Based on the mainland coast with both agricultural and trading capacities, Lothal was an important sea port (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 26), which may have possessed an artificially constructed harbour (Leshnik et al. 1968, 911; Kenoyer 1998, 163). Along with other Harappan trade-specialised sites such as Kuntasi, Lothal and Dholavira seem to have collapsed at the same time as Harappa itself around 1900 BCE, as the extant trade networks broke down (Possehl 1997, 455–456). The Harappan presence seems to have lived on for longer however in settlements such as Rojdi, which were agriculturally based and still expanding even as the trading towns were abandoned, and continued to be occupied up until 1700 BCE (Possehl 1997, 453).

While there has been a steady tribal presence in Gujarat as in the rest of India, the area's closeness to Western and Central Asia meant that it was under much stronger Hindu influence throughout history than was Madhya Pradesh. The first mention of the region is in the *Mahabarata*, which describes Krishna establishing a principality there in 1300/1400 BCE (Dosábhai 1894, 2). The first historically recorded rulers of the territory were the Mauryans in the 4$^{th}$ century BCE and then the Satavahanas, indigenous groups exerting control from the eastern and central parts of the subcontinent respectively. Gujarat's north-western position then again resulted in it falling under the foreign influence the Shakas, Indo-Scythians or Kshatrapas. By the 5$^{th}$ century CE South Asian control was regained by

the Gupta and Maitraka dynasties in the 5th-8th centuries CE, followed by six centuries of Rajput rule. It was during the 125-year rule of the first Rajput dynasty, the Gurjara-Pratiharas, that the name Gujarat first came to be used for the territory as 'Gurjaratta' or 'land of the Gurjars' (Rajyagor 1988, 1).

The Solanki Rajput clan were finally overthrown by Allauddin Kjiliji in 1297, ushering in the Gujarat Sultanate and Muslim rule for the next three centuries. Despite ever more organised state control, tribal groups nonetheless continued to exert sovereignty over parts of the territory, such as the Bhil queen Sadishva who ruled Varat-nagār in the 15th century (Dosábhai 1894, 2).

The Sultanate ended when the Emperor Akbar annexed Gujarat to his Mughal Empire in 1573 (Rajyagor 1988, 238), under which it remained until the mid-18th century when it was conquered by the Maratha general Chhatrapati Shivaji (Keay 2010, 352).

The dominant forces in Gujarat over these first five millennia are summarised below in Table 26.

| Period | Political influence/dominance | Reference |
|---|---|---|
| **BCE** | | |
| 26th-17th C | Harappans | (Kenoyer 2006, 45; Possehl 1997, 453) |
| 4th-2nd C | Mauryans | (Rajyagor 1988, 57) |
| 3rd-1st C | Satavahanas | (U. Singh 2008, 381) |
| 1st C | Shakas | (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 77) |
| **CE** | | |
| 1st-4th C | Kshatrapas | (Dosábhai 1894, 3) |
| 5th C | Guptas | (Rajyagor 1988, 78) |
| 5th-8th C | Maitrakas | (Rajyagor 1988, 80–81) |
| 8th-9th C | Gurjara-Pratiharas | (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 114) |
| 10th C | Rashtrakutas | (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 378) |
| 11th-12th C | Chalukyas | (Keay 2010, 637) |
| 11th-13th C | Solankis | (Keay 2010, 655) |
| 14th-16th C | Gujarat Sultanate | (Rajyagor 1988, 141) |
| 16th-18th C | Mughals | (Rajyagor 1988, 238) |
| 18th-19th C | Marathas | (Keay 2010, 413) |
| 19th-20th C | British and princely states | (Keay 2010, 413) |

Table 26: Political dominance in the area of modern Gujarat throughout history.

While in reality direct British control of India never amounted to more than 52% of its territory (Wood 1984, 65), in Gujarat the proportion was even less at around only 20%,

with over three hundred princely states holding the remaining 80% (Wood 1984, 67) (and see Figure 24). The district of Panch Mahals in which this case study is located fell under the 20%, having been ceded to the British in 1818, and was amalgamated with Broach district for administrative reasons until 1945 (Gov. India 2012a, 338).

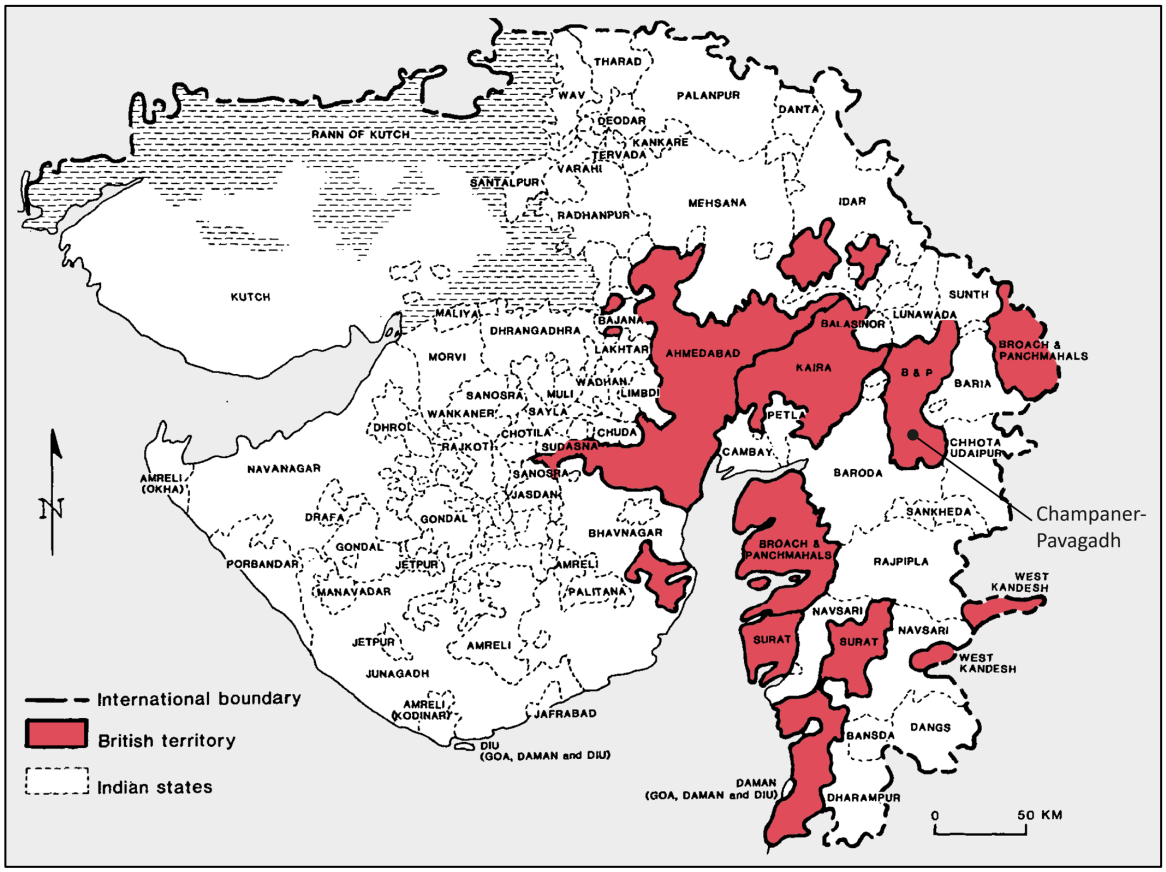



Figure 24: Map showing pre-independence Gujarat, highlighting the division between the princely states and British territory (modified from Gov. India 1966, 4).

The formation of the current state of Gujarat following independence was by no means a given, as despite there being linguistic unity the leaders of the ex-Princely and ex-British areas were not natural allies but Gujarat emerged as a separate and relatively cohesive state in 1960 when a proposed super-state involving both Gujarat and Maharashtra was abandoned (Wood 1984, 95).

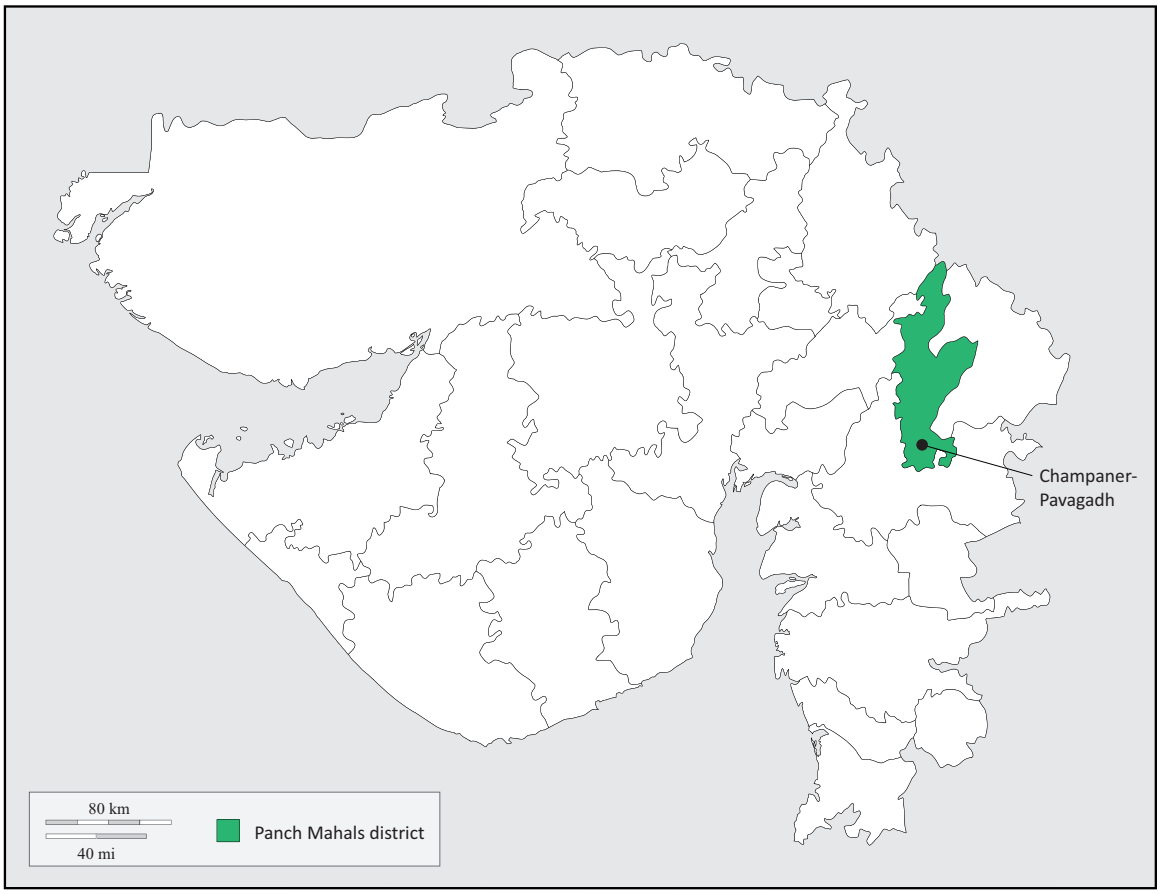
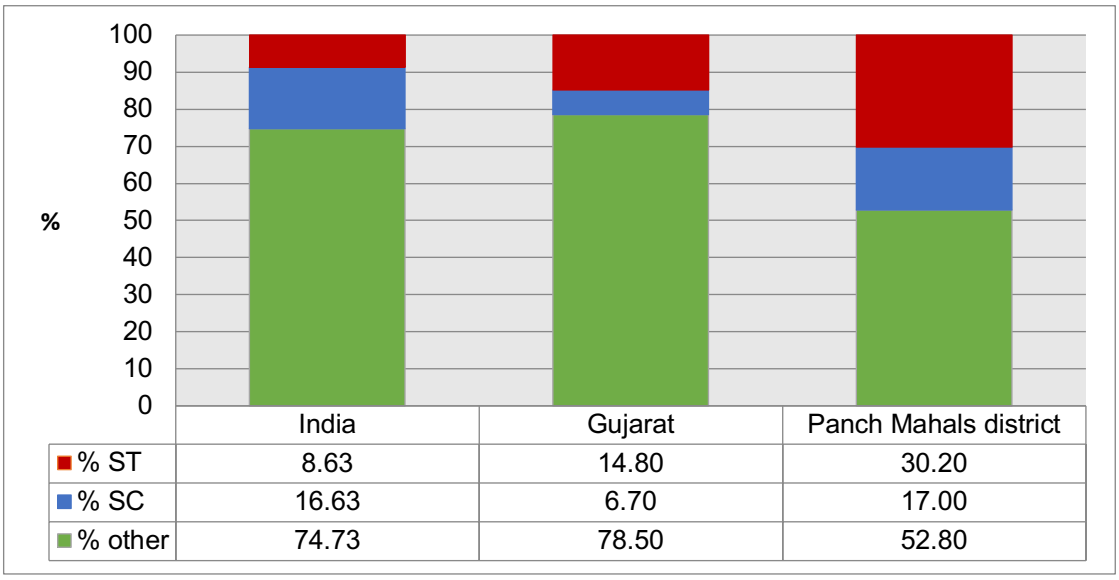



Figure 25: The locations of Panch Mahals district and Champaner-Pavagadh within the state of Gujarat today.

The populations of Gujarat and Panch Mahals district in the 2011 census were 60.4 million and 2.4 million respectively (Gov. India 2011a). Panch Mahals is predominantly rural and heavily agricultural, and comprises 1,210 villages and only 9 towns, with Champaner and Pavagadh being the two main hilly areas in an otherwise mainly flat (Gov. India 2012a, 338).

With 12% of India's scheduled tribe population (IAMR 2011, 20), on the one hand Gujarat has a smaller in-state proportion of tribes than Madhya Pradesh at 14.8% compared to 21%, but more relevant for the case studies is that at a district level the proportion is double that of Madhya Pradesh, at 30.2% compared to 15.4% (Gov. India 2011i). As in the case of Madhya Pradesh, despite economic growth there is still significant hardship for much of the population, with 15% of the tribal community unable to reach social services through isolation (UNESCO 2016a), and Panch Mahals being listed as one of the 250 'most backward' regions (Gov. India 2009a, 14). The proportions of population for state, district and all of India are shown in Figure 26.




| | India | Gujarat | Panch Mahals district |
|---|---|---|---|
| % ST | 8.63 | 14.80 | 30.20 |
| % SC | 16.63 | 6.70 | 17.00 |
| % other | 74.73 | 78.50 | 52.80 |

Figure 26: The proportions of Scheduled Tribes (ST) and Scheduled Castes (SC) in the populations of India, Gujarat and Panch Mahals district in 2011 (data source: Gov. India 2011g).

Reflecting the past dominance of the Bhils in the region (as opposed to the Gonds in Madhya Pradesh), Figure 27 shows the makeup of the tribal population in Panch Mahals district.

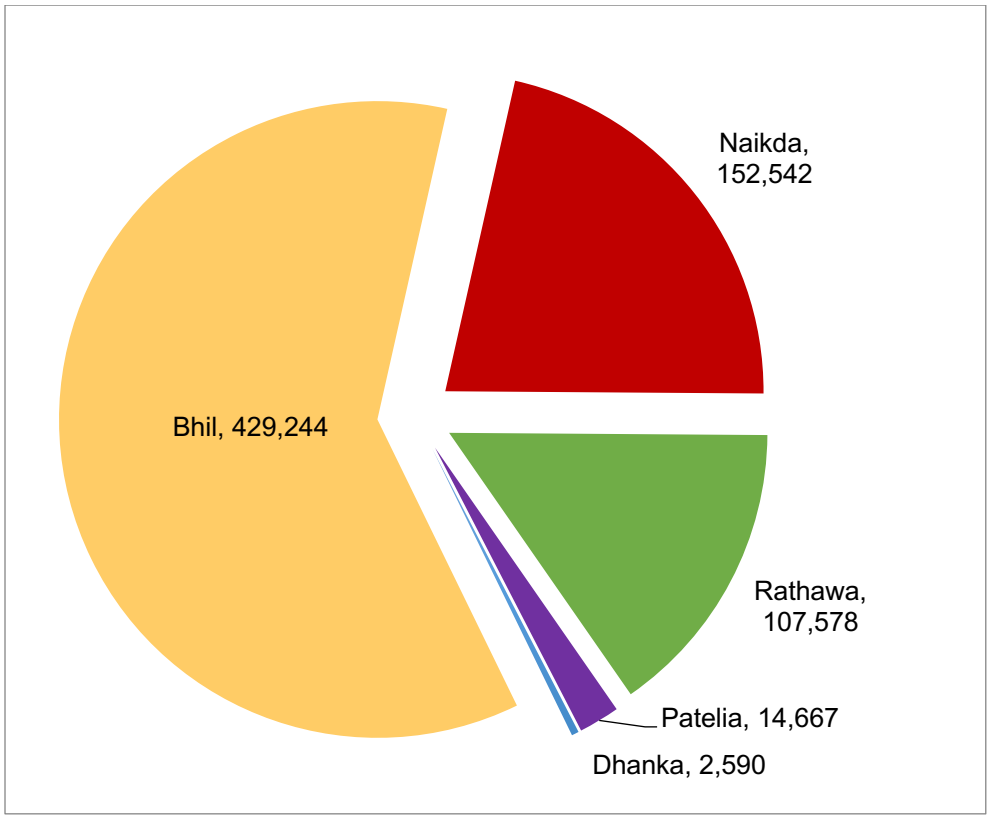
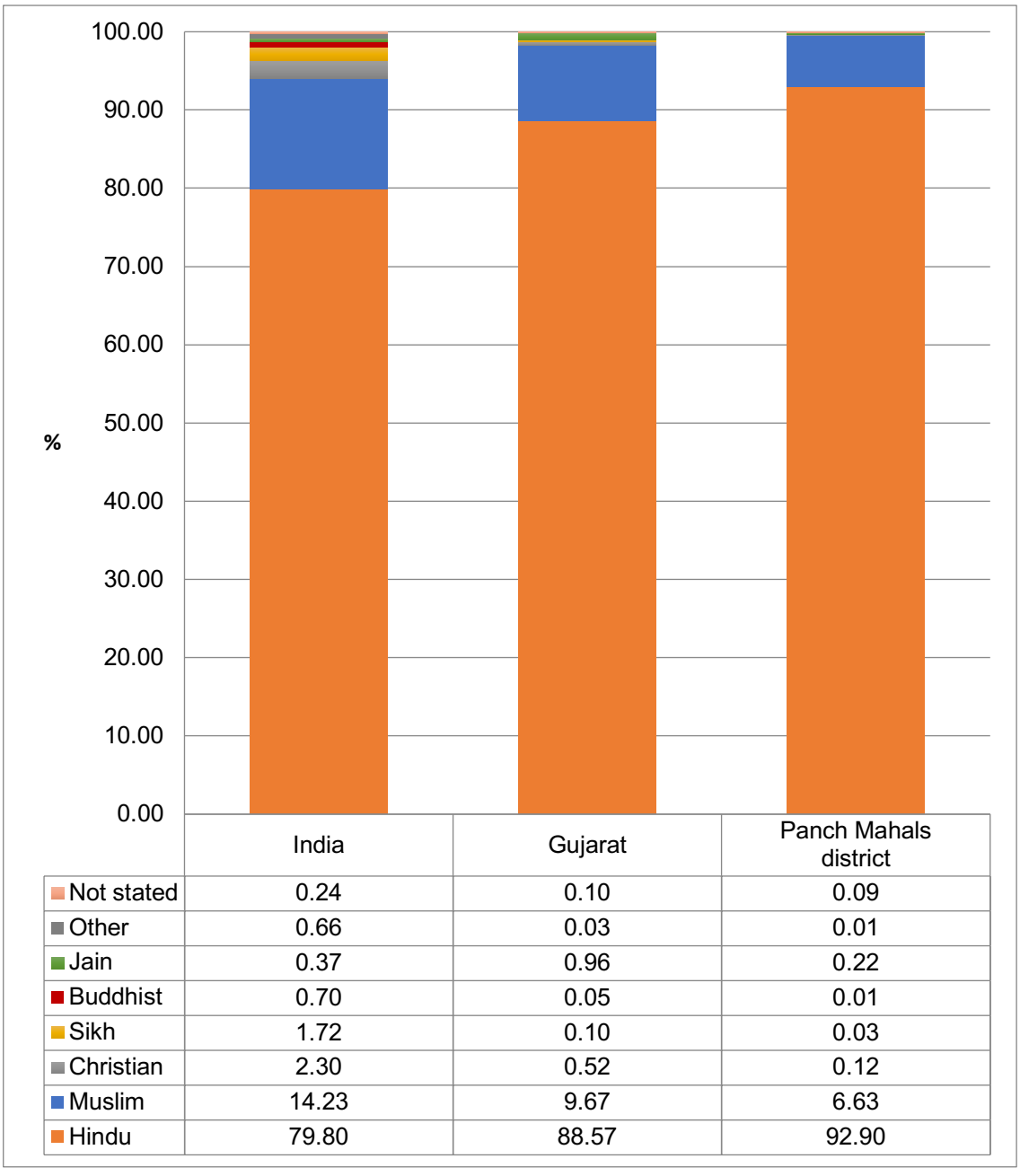



Figure 27: Breakdown of the tribal population of Panch Mahals district, with communities of over 1,000 members (data source: Gov. India 2011b).

As in Madhya Pradesh, the high tribal and dalit population professes the majority Hindu religion around 9% and 13% higher than the national average in state and district respectively (see Figure 28). The percentage of Muslims in Panch Mahals is somewhat lower than in the rest of the state, but they nonetheless represent a significant minority. This is especially important given the high Hindu-Muslim tensions and recent history of communal violence in Gujarat, which has a particularly local relevance as the 2002 riots began in the nearby taluka of Godhra.




| | India | Gujarat | Panch Mahals district |
|---|---|---|---|
| Not stated | 0.24 | 0.10 | 0.09 |
| Other | 0.66 | 0.03 | 0.01 |
| Jain | 0.37 | 0.96 | 0.22 |
| Buddhist | 0.70 | 0.05 | 0.01 |
| Sikh | 1.72 | 0.10 | 0.03 |
| Christian | 2.30 | 0.52 | 0.12 |
| Muslim | 14.23 | 9.67 | 6.63 |
| Hindu | 79.80 | 88.57 | 92.90 |

Figure 28: Size of religious communities India, Gujarat and Panch Mahals district in 2011 (Gov. India 2011c).

After the dominant language of Gujarati, Bhili/Bhilodi speakers narrowly outnumber Hindi speakers, indicating the endurance of tribal culture (see Figure 29), and as in the case of Madhya Pradesh showing that cultural groups may tend to change religion more readily for social advantage.

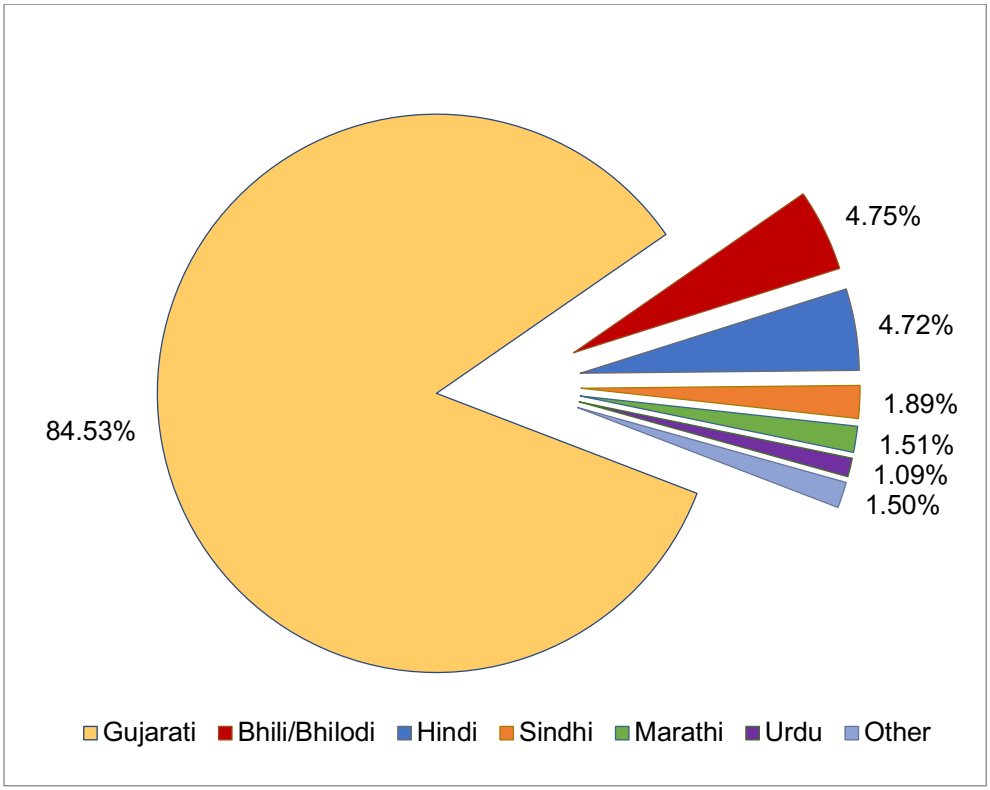



Figure 29: Percentage of mother tongue speakers for Gujarat in 2001 (data source: Gov. India 2001a; Gov. India 2001b). More recent and district-level language statistics from the 2011 census are yet to be released.

Overall education levels are higher in Gujarat than in most states, with a literacy rate of nearly 68% that is 5% above the national average (see Figure 30), and also a tribal literacy rate of 52% that is also above average (MGLI 2004, 151). 95% of primary age children are enrolled in school but only 53% continue in education after the age of 14 (MGLI 2004, 154). Higher education is relatively available, with 37 universities (Gov. India 2013, T-1), and 1,662 colleges (Gov. India 2013, T-7). At 17.6%, the number enrolled in higher education is slightly lower than the national average of 20.4% (Gov. India 2013, T-17). The lower level of educational attainment in Panch Mahals district (see Figure 31) is largely attributable to the socioeconomic state of its larger scheduled tribe and caste populations.

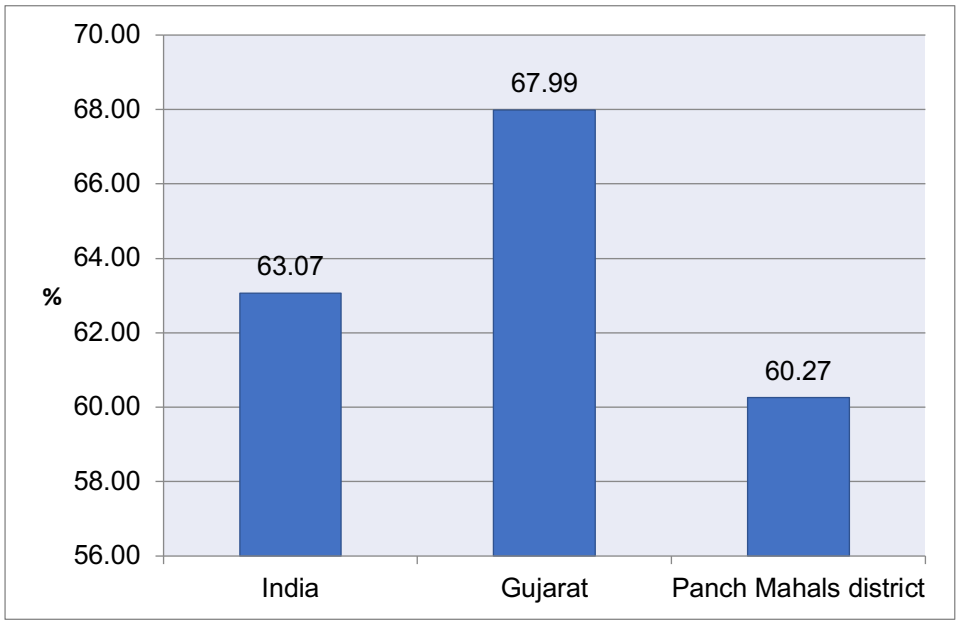
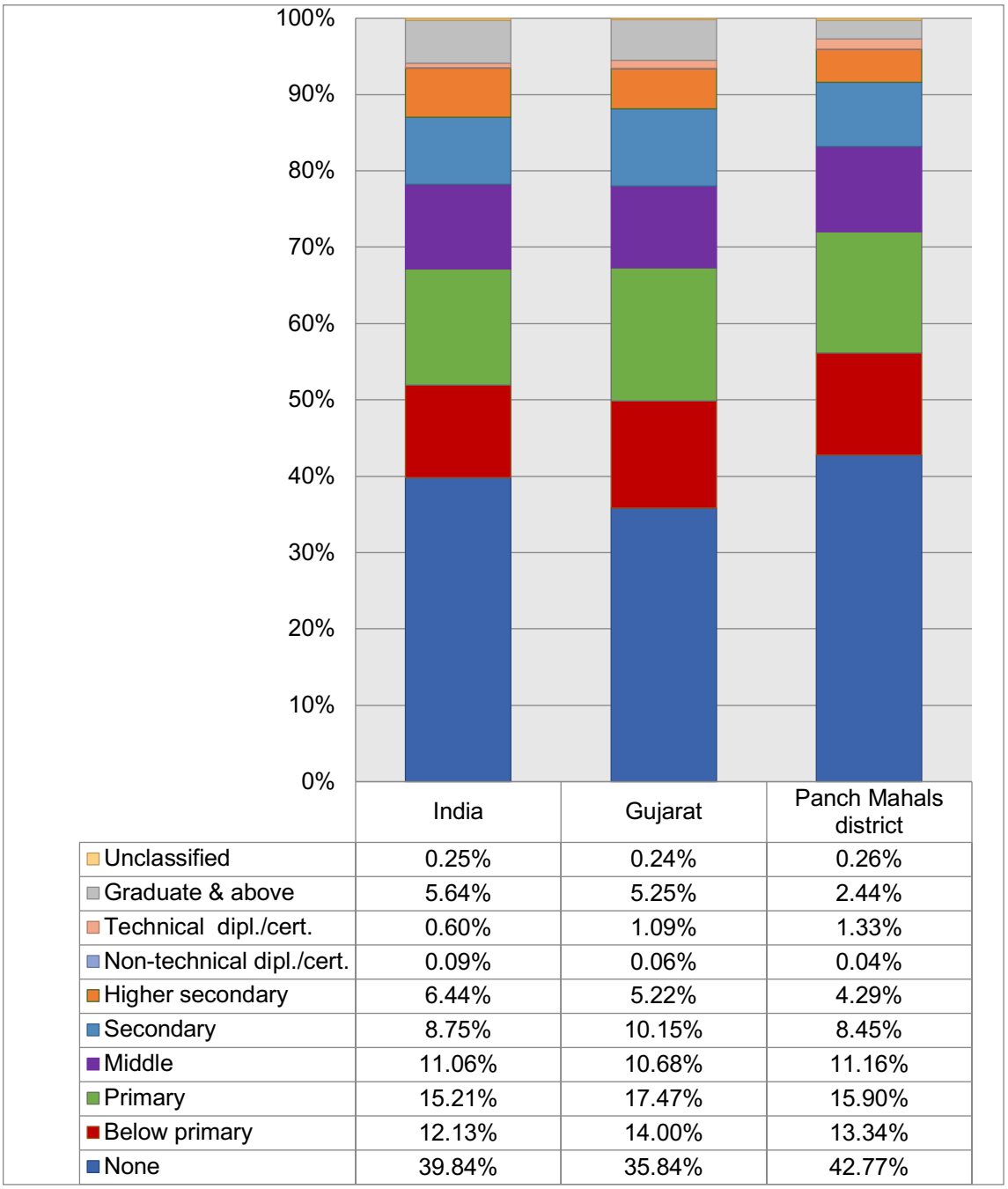



Figure 30: Literate population size for India, Gujarat and Panch Mahals district in 2011 (data source: Gov. India 2011g).




| | India | Gujarat | Panch Mahals district |
|---|---|---|---|
| Unclassified | 0.25% | 0.24% | 0.26% |
| Graduate & above | 5.64% | 5.25% | 2.44% |
| Technical dipl./cert. | 0.60% | 1.09% | 1.33% |
| Non-technical dipl./cert. | 0.09% | 0.06% | 0.04% |
| Higher secondary | 6.44% | 5.22% | 4.29% |
| Secondary | 8.75% | 10.15% | 8.45% |
| Middle | 11.06% | 10.68% | 11.16% |
| Primary | 15.21% | 17.47% | 15.90% |
| Below primary | 12.13% | 14.00% | 13.34% |
| None | 39.84% | 35.84% | 42.77% |

Figure 31: Educational level for all ages for India, Gujarat and Panch Mahals district in 2011 (data source: Gov. India 2011d).

Gujarat has undergone a high degree of economic liberalisation over the past two decades, with associated growth of investment in the private sector. Outside of the agricultural sector, this has resulted in 7.7% growth of the state economy, and per capita income increasing at a rate of 4% in the 1990s (MGLI 2004, 24). Overall employment is close to 4% higher than the national average, with only 7% of workers classed as marginal (see Figure 32).


| | India | Gujarat |
|---|---|---|
| Non-workers | 60.20% | 59.02% |
| Marginal workers | 9.85% | 7.28% |
| Main workers | 29.94% | 33.70% |

Figure 32: Employment levels for India and Gujarat in 2011 (data source: Gov. India 2011d).

Gujarat is regularly referred to as the shining economic example among Indian states, particularly due to market-led reforms implemented since the 1990s that has resulted in GDP growth significantly above that of the rest of India (*Economist* 2015), and is based on progress in all sectors including agriculture (Sood 2012). Accounting for 22% of Indian exports (Economist 2015), Gujarat is one of the country's most industrialised states (IAMR 2011, 48), for example accounting for 25% of trade via sea and with a surplus production of generated electricity (Economist 2015). The main crops grown are maize, rice groundnut and bajri (Gov. India 2012a, 338), but in comparison to Madhya Pradesh agriculture is much less important to the economy, accounting for 52.2% of employment but only 15.5% of income (IAMR 2011, 48).

This high level of economic growth has resulted in an HDI above the national average (IAMR 2011, 22) but this has not benefited all sections of the population, especially as the state Government has not implemented policies to soften the effects of growth for more disadvantaged groups (Sood 2012). In particular poverty in rural areas such as Panch Mahals have not shown significant improvement, with many small farmers in particular becoming disenfranchised (Dixit 2013, 263). Krishna et al. (2003) studied 20 villages in Gujarat over a 25 year period, and found that while 9.2% of households escaped poverty over that time, a further 7.3 regressed into it (although the villages studied in Panch Mahals generally fared better than average) (Krishna et al. 2003, 5171), resulting in a net gain of only 2%.

The level of poverty for Scheduled Tribes is significantly lower in Gujarat than nationally (see Figure 33) but they rank below the national average on most other human development indicators, mainly due to a lack of healthcare facilities in rural areas (IAMR 2011, 48–49). Another indicator that shows that disadvantaged groups have not fared well under market-let policies is that the malnourished proportion of the population has actually increased in Gujarat over the past two decades (Dixit 2013, 279).

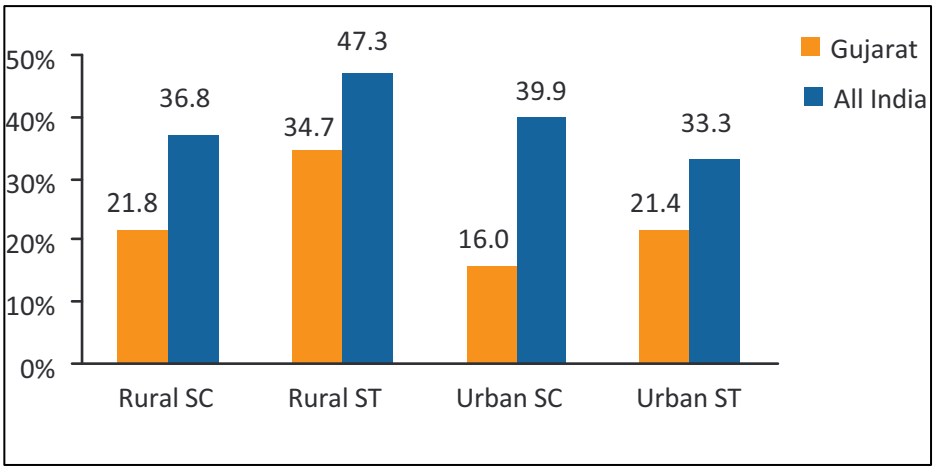



Figure 33: Level of poverty by social group in Gujarat and India, 2004-5 (source: IAMR 2011, 49)

Not surprisingly, the state government's vision statement for the tourist industry is strongly linked to economics, "catapulting tourism as one of the most important economic drivers, leading to sustainable development and inclusive growth in the State" (Gov. Gujarat 2015, 4).

Tourism is growing healthily in the state, at a rate of 13% or 3.4 million visitors per year (Gov. Gujarat 2016). Because of its stronger business economy and better transport connections, Gujarat receives a much higher proportion of foreign tourists than does Madhya Pradesh. In 2014, it received 30,900,000 domestic tourists, and 235,000 international tourists (Mishra 2015), a ratio of 131:1, as opposed to 1000:1 for Madhya Pradesh. Despite this however, Gujarat's share of international tourists visiting India overall is just 1% (Mishra 2015).

The predominant reasons for visiting Gujarat are business and spiritual, with other motivations accounting for less than 2% of tourists (see Figure 34).

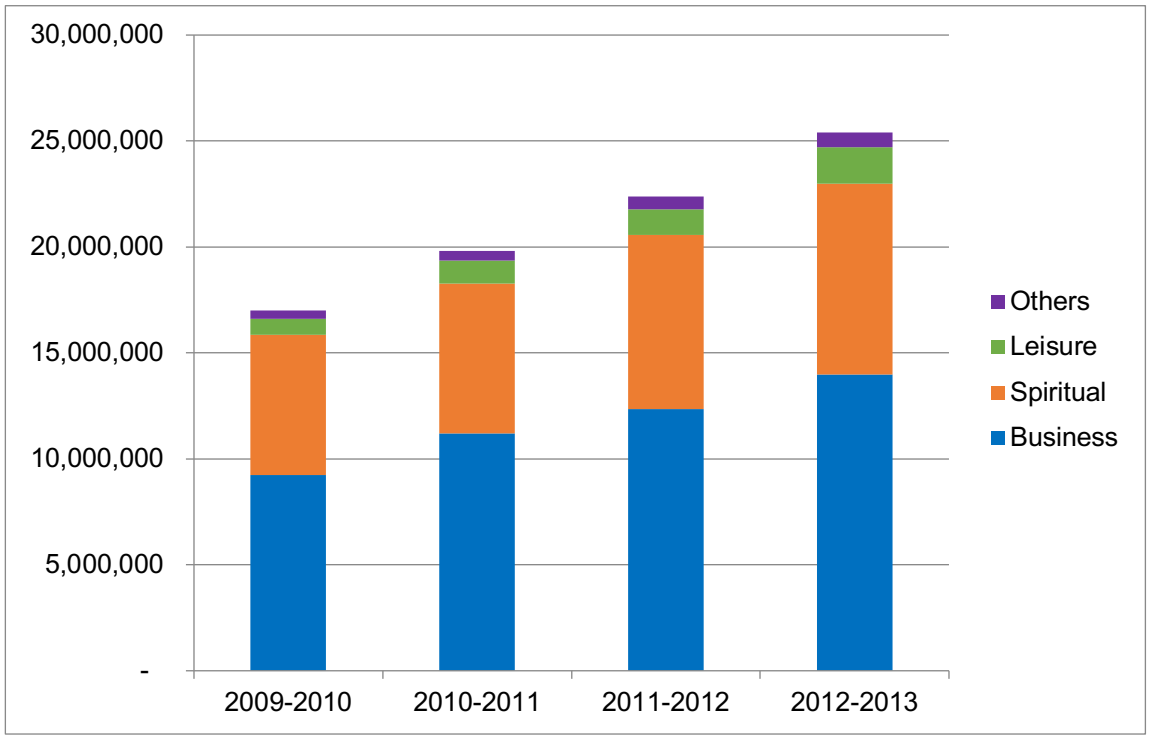



Figure 34: Tourists' reasons for visiting Gujarat (data source: TCG 2015).

Gujarat does not compile statistics of visits to all sites as Madhya Pradesh does, however Champaner Pavagadh is likely to be highly ranked in the state for a number of reasons. It is close to Vadodara, which is one of eight main tourist hubs in the state (NCAER 2014, 4), and well-served by transport. The spiritual motivation of tourists is also important, with ongoing worship at the temples on Pavagadh being a major factor in attracting over 2.2 million visitors to the World Heritage site as whole every year (ASI et al. 2013, 401). The location of Champaner Pavagadh relative to Vadodara and other heritage sites in the state is shown in Figure 35.

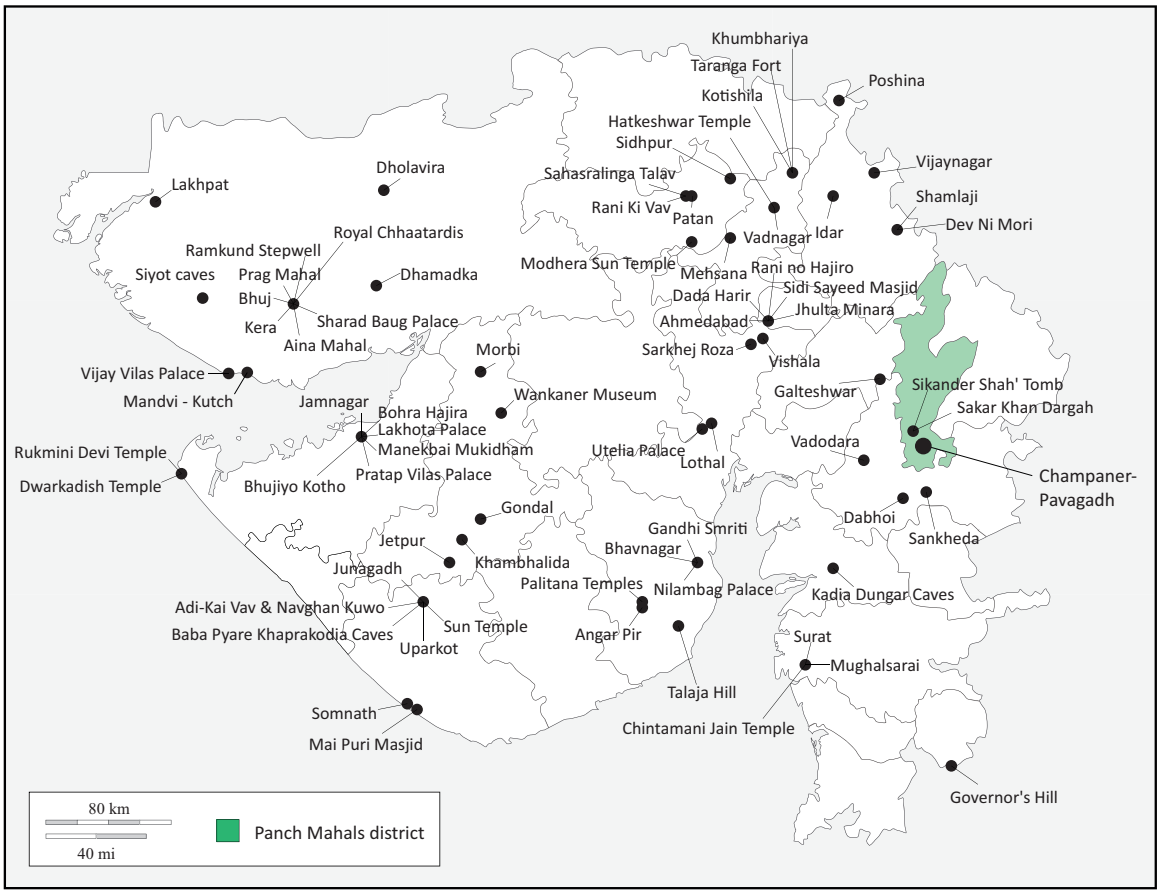



Figure 35: Distribution of heritage tourist sites in Gujarat (map data source: Gujarat Tourism 2016).

In terms of politics, Gujarat is an even greater BJP stronghold than Madhya Pradesh, where the party has won a record number of elections, staying in power since 1995 (Jaffrelot 2013, 79). The margins of the BJP victories have been significant (see Figure 36) and have resulted in comfortably dominant governments, for example controlling 20 of Gujarat's 26 Lok Sabha seats after the 2002 national election (Jaffrelot 2005, 271).

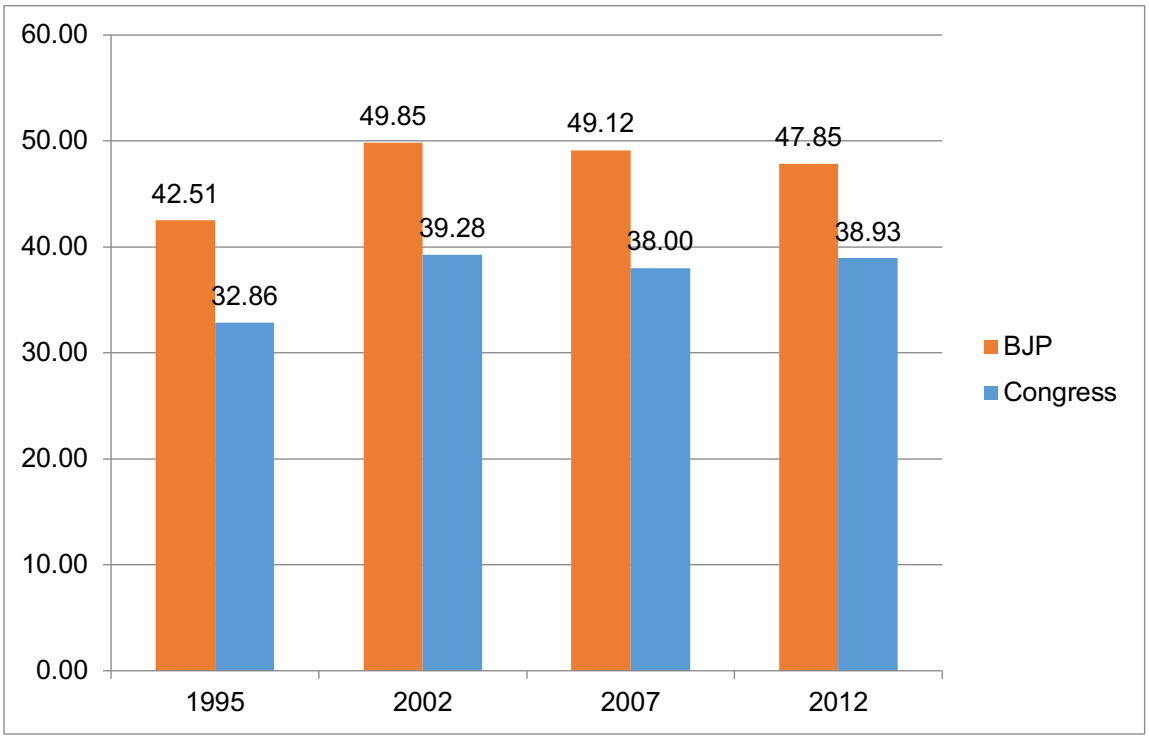



Figure 36: Gujarat state election results, 1995-2013 (data source: ECI 1995, 9; ECI 2002, 9; ECI 2007, 6; ECI 2012, 10)

Rural, SC and ST populations have not done well under the BJP governments, which have heavily favoured the urban and higher caste voting groups, for example abandoning 2012 election promises to build rural irrigation canals from the Narmada dam and directing all water to the cities instead (Jaffrelot 2013, 85). The BJP has not included the lower castes in power sharing, for example excluding the Kshatriyas, who are counted as OBC in Gujarat due to lower socio-economic levels, even though they comprise 20% of the electorate (Dave et al. 2012). This is partly due to the fact that caste and Dalit parties are largely absent in Gujarat (Jaffrelot 2012), and means there is less pressure for the BJP to compromise.

Muslims are also not represented in Gujarat politics, due to continuing and pervasive communalism. In the 2012 election for example, neither the BJP nor the congress party nominated any Muslim candidates (Jaffrelot 2013, 83), and the state government routinely ignores their welfare, for example by refusing to pay out scholarships to Muslim students that had been provided by central government (Jaffrelot 2013, 98). The history of communal violence with state complicity has been detailed in chapters 2 and 3. For context it should be noted that while Champaner is quite a distance from Ayodhya, it is only 49 kilometres away from Godhra in Panch Mahals, where the Gujarat riots started, so communal tensions are also high in its immediate environment.

## 5.2 Case study one: The Rock Shelters of Bhimbetka

### 5.2.1 Introduction

Bhimbetka is situated 40km south of Bhopal in the Goharganj tehsil of Raisen District, on the northern edge of the Vindhya Range (see Figure 37 and Figure 38). One of seven hills forming the Western Vindhyas, it is comprised of a soft red sandstone that has weathered heavily over time, with differential erosion resulting in a large number of caves (Misra et al. 1979, 28). The hill is approximately 1km long (east-west) by 0.5km wide, at an elevation of 100m above the surrounding plain, and 600m above sea level (Misra 1976, 15). The site overlooks the Narmada Valley, with the Narmada River itself flowing west to east 25km to the south.

Figure 37: The rock shelters at Bhimbetka from the approach road

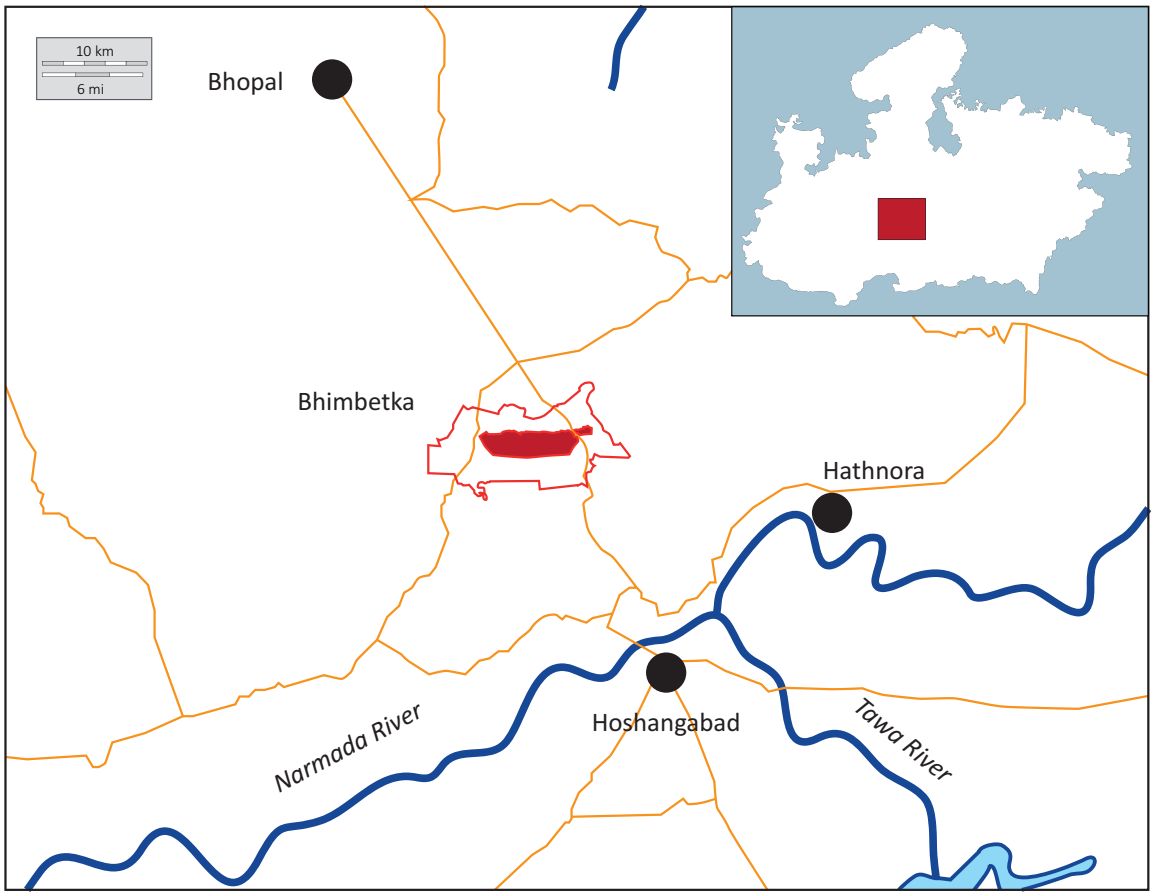



Figure 38: Map showing the location of Bhimbetka in Madhya Pradesh

The name Bhimbetka is a local adaptation of 'Bhimbaithka', or 'the seat of Bhima', one of the heroes of the *Mahābārata*, and refers to the imposing size of the rock formations. The site is actually very far from where any of the scenes from the Sankskrit epic are supposed to have occurred, around Hastinapur and the Punjab (Doniger 2009, 261), and reflects more the fact that the Gonds who make up much of the local population overall often worship Bhima and his magical club (Forsyth 1889, 151). Today the location is famous predominantly for its rock art, including what may be the oldest petroglyphs in the world, estimated to predate 100,000 BP (Bednarik et al. 2005, 149–150). These are accompanied by prehistoric paintings of wildlife and hunting and gathering scenes dating from ca. 10,000 BCE (Misra et al. 1979, 33), and historic artworks depicting royal processions and battle scenes up to the early medieval period (Chakrabarti 2006, 101). The importance of the rock art to Indian archaeology has been summed up by Sonawane, who wrote that "India can be proud of being one of the three countries having the richest treasures of rock art in the world" (Sonawane 2008, 10).

The site also possesses a near continuous occupational history from the Lower Palaeolithic through to the Early Historical period (Misra et al. 1979, 28) and is thus one of

the few prehistoric sites in India with stratified deposits encompassing multiple cultures in their primary archaeological contexts (Misra 1982, 7).

This is especially important for understanding the Indian Acheulian, as the site provides especially thick, undisturbed occupational deposits from this period (Misra 1976, 14), so far yielding in excess of 5,000 Palaeolithic tools and 300,000 microliths (Wakankar 1985, 175). While 23 human burials have been excavated at Bhimbetka none of these are earlier than the Mesolithic (Kennedy et al. 2002), not surprising as hominid fossils do not survive well in Indian conditions. An exception to this is 'Narmada Man', a hominid skullcap discovered 30km away on a gravel riverbed (Sonakia 1985, 612–613), which is the only specimen discovered and recorded so far (Kennedy et al. 1991, 492), providing the earliest fossil human evidence found in South Asia (Dennell et al. 2005, 1100). The specimen has been speculatively identified as representative of the early *Homo erectus* inhabitants of Bhimbetka (Bednarik 1995, 611).

The Mesolithic human remains so far recovered at Bhimbetka itself have been too poorly preserved to yield precise information, but do display a range of biological diversity (Lukacs et al. 2002, 101), including noticeably robust or archaic features, sufficient to even suggest a Neanderthal connection (Wakankar 2002, 5). In a newspaper interview Wakankar described the robust nature of the remains found, and noted that "This discovery puts India for the first time on the map of fossilised man in the world" (ToI 1976a, 8) (and see Figure 39).

# Bhopal fossil find a historical landmark

**By A Staff Reporter**

A PARTIALLY-fossilised human skull and bones of an adult, believed to have lived 15,000 to 20,000 years ago, have been unearthed at Bhimbetka, near Bhopal.

These are the earliest remains of man to be discovered in India, Dr. V. S. Wakankar archaeologist of Vikram University, told newsmen in Bombay on Thursday. "This discovery puts India for the first time on the map of fossilised man in the world."

He discovered the fossils in March while excavating a rock shelter at Bhimbetka — the body buried in a pit and covered by a deposit hearing non-geometric tools made of "cheri, jasper and chalcedony, known to archaeologists as blade burin industry."

**BEADS FOUND**

Dr. Wakankar said till now no remains of early man had been discovered in India. "Not even a tooth or bone of early man has been discovered so far, though in the Sivalik hills in Punjab the remains of an ape (Ramapithecus) have been found," he added.

Dr. Wakankar showed newsmen the jaws of man as also the tools and drawings of the paintings found in the prehistoric caves be explored, 710 of them throughout the country.

He said he would reconstruct the skull to get some idea of the racial race of the man could be had.

According to Dr. Wakankar, the skull pieces are unusually thick and the eye ridge very prominent. The frontal bone tends to be inclined and is not vertical as that of present day man. The eye sockets are also much wider and the jaw massive and bigger than that of modern man.

A steatite bead found with the skul indicated that ornaments were being used at such an early date, he said. Bone-tools, decorated bones and bone ornaments have already been found from the site.

He also discovered the remains of a child last year in Bhimbetka in levels yielding mesolithic geometric microlithic tools.

Another significant find was a semi-fossilised femur (thigh) bone from middle-palaeolithic levels at Devakachar and some skull pieces from Burman ghat in the Narmada valley, near Jabalpur.

Figure 39: Times of India article from 1976 on the significance of human remains excavated at Bhimbetka

With its continuous occupation record Bhimbetka and the surrounding area have the potential to make a significant contribution to current debates in human evolution centring on continuity versus replacement models (e.g. Smith 1992), multiregionalism (e.g. Stringer 2014), and the 'Recent Out of Africa' model (e.g. Bednarik 2013).

While it is by far the best-studied rock shelter site in the area, Bhimbetka is by no means the only one, and there is enormous potential for more wide-reaching research. The neighbouring hills of Lakha Juar and Bhaunrewali have equal numbers of painted shelters for example (Alam 2005, 92), as do Chunapani and Chiklod (Wakankar 1979, 25). Jacobsen (1980, 68) surveyed 10 groups of shelters to the northeast of Bhimbetka, while

Singh reports over 1,300 shelters within a 10km distance (Singh 2015, 867). Such shelters are not confined to the immediate vicinity and are in fact very widely spread. Bhattacharyya also lists two other major rock sites in Raisen, at Barkhera (154 painted shelters), and Kharwai (55 painted shelters), as well as in many other districts of Madhya Pradesh, including Rewa, Mandsaur, Narsinghagargh, Bhopal, Hoshangabad, Sagar, Panna, Ambikapur and Raigarh (Bhattacharyya 1977, 2). Wakankar alone claims to have discovered over 4,000 rock art sites in Central India (Wakankar 1985, 175).

This incredible richness of rock art and its associated sites does not only represent vast research potential, but also leads to the inescapable conclusion that local communities throughout Raisen and Madhya Pradesh are very familiar with them. The UNESCO World Heritage nomination file for Bhimbetka states that:

> "Twenty-one villages, lived in by people whose contemporary cultural traditions are closely associated with the rock paintings, are found in the buffer zone... whose culture appears to indicate a remarkable continuity with the rock art and with the tradition of hunting and gathering depicted in the paintings."
>
> *(UNESCO 2003a, 43)*

The ethno-archaeologist Malti Nagar concurs with this continuity:

> "In their food gathering practices and their religious beliefs and customs they are continuing the economic and cultural traditions of the prehistoric cave-dwellers of Bhimbetka whose descendants they certainly are."
>
> *(Nagar 1977, 26)*

Most archaeologists who have worked on the site have however strongly rejected any cultural connection between the local populations and those who made the paintings at Bhimbetka (Chakrabarti 2006, 98). While admitting that the site was well known to the local Gond people, Wakankar for example states only that they considered them to be the work of witches (Wakankar 1985, 175).

Although they do not report any systematic research into links, many researchers explicitly rule them out, based for example on a lack of an ethnographic record of any tribal people painting in the shelters, and that none of the paintings depict items from the last 200 years (Misra et al. 1979, 32), implying that the current local community cannot have lived in the area longer than that. During the nomination process for the site it was stressed that paintings in the villages shared an affinity to those in the rock shelters but nothing more (Ray 2003), while none of the local tribal groups claimed any rights to the shelters (Sabharwal 2003). Claims that the human remains found on the site could be ancestral to the current Gond population were even refuted due to the small sample size (Tiwari 2002,

39). Misra deliberately excludes the local communities from any privileged claim, stating that:

> "It is not the heritage of a particular community, race or religion. It belongs to a stage of cultural evolution when the ancestors of all peoples in our country were leading a hunting-gathering way of life. It is, therefore, the common heritage of the entire Indian society."
>
> *(Misra 1981, 16)*

Many of these assertions seem overstated. Tribal populations are known to have been well settled in central India for a long time, with the Gonds for example thought to have arrived in Central India in ca. 2500 BCE (Andronov 1980, 17), although their first historical mention is in the 15th C CE (Mehta 1984, 7). This was tacitly accepted by Wakankar in a *Times of India* story:

> "… a continuous (habitational) sequence since the pebble tool epoch (500,000 years to 1.5 million years old) to an era of the Gond kingdom in this area."
>
> *(Joshi 1982, 7)*

The Pardhans are thought to have predated the Gonds in the region (Mehta 1984, 232), while the Korkus are estimated to have arrived in around 4000 BCE (Saha et al. 1987, 273). Many of the tribal communities in the area today still have sacred sites, including burials, located within the core and buffer World Heritage zones (personal communication from local residents). At the same time rock art researchers have noted the systematic and significant similarities between the rock art and contemporary tribal house paintings (e.g. Padhan 2012).

This case study will therefore attempt to address the question of whether the above researchers are correct in their rejection of cultural continuity and identification among the local communities of Bhimbetka.

### 5.2.2 Archaeological investigations at Bhimbetka

Bhimbetka was 'discovered' in 1957 by V.S. Wakankar (Wakankar 1975, 7). The excitement of discovery was exaggeratedly related in a *Times of India* story:

> "On the third day of the dig, he struck it rich. Lying on the bed of a huge cave were artifacts, including decorated bricks, stone carvings and sculptures. As his eyes explored the cave, his pulse quickened. On the walls and the ceiling were paintings in earthen colours – some 2,000 of them! Quickly he pulled out his sketchbook and sat down to copy the paintings which looked like the famous cave paintings of France and Spain."
>
> *(ToI 1982, 15)*

The site was excavated on a semi-regular basis from 1971 to 2005. Unfortunately a significant number of the excavations remain unpublished. Based on numbers anecdotally mentioned in some reports, at least 25 excavations must have taken place at Bhimbetka, but only 15 have been sufficiently documented that it is clear who dug and when. For example, Wakankar states that over 19 shelters were excavated between 1971-1976, yet only 9 have been recorded (Wakankar 1985, 175). Similarly the mid-1970s excavations by Susan Haas of the Museum für Volkerkunde in Basel, and by ASI archaeologists K.D. Banerjee in 1981-82 and S.B. Ota from 2002 to 2005 remain completely unpublished. A summary of all excavations known to have taken place is given below in Table 27.

| Dates | Investigation details | Reference |
|---|---|---|
| 1957 | Site discovered by V.S. Wakankar | (Wakankar 1975, 7) |
| n.d. | Excavation of rock shelter III F-13 by Saugor University | (Wakankar 2002, 1) |
| n.d. | Excavation of rock shelter III A-28 by V.S. Wakankar | (Wakankar 2002, 2) |
| n.d. | Excavation of rock shelter III A-33 by V.S. Wakankar | (Wakankar 2002, 2) |
| 1971-72 | Excavation of rock shelter III F-24 by V.S. Wakankar | (Misra 1976, 16) |
| 1972-73 | Excavation of rock shelter III A29 by V.S. Wakankar | (Misra 1976, 16) |
| 1973-74 | Excavation of rock shelter III A30 by V.S. Wakankar | (Misra 1976, 16) |
| n.d. | Excavation of rock shelter III F-16 BY S. Haas | (Wakankar 2002, 2; Lukacs 2002, 41) |
| 1974-75 | Excavation of rock shelter III A-28 by V.S. Wakankar | (Thapar 1979a, 24) |
| | Excavation of rock shelter III F-23 by V.N. Misra | (Thapar 1979a, 25) |
| 1975-76 | Excavation of rock shelter III F-23 by V.N. Misra contd. | (Thapar 1979b, 23) |
| | Excavation of rock shelter III F-13 by V.N. Misra | (Thapar 1979b, 23) |
| 1976-77 | Excavation of rock shelter II B-33 by V.N. Misra | (Thapar 1980, 29) |
| 1981-82 | Excavation of two rock shelters at base of Bhimbetka hills by S. Gupta | (Mitra 1984, 35) |
| | Excavation of unknown areas by K.D. Banerjee | (ASI 2002, 22) |
| 2002 | Excavation of rock shelter III F 24 by Kumar and Bednarik | (Bednarik et al. 2005, 155) |
| 2002-03 | Excavation of rock shelter ASI-28 by S.B. Ota | (Shrivasta 2009, 149) |
| 2003-04 | Excavation of rock shelter ASI-28 by S.B. Ota contd. | (Sengupta 2011, 151) |
| 2004-05 | Excavation of rock shelter ASI-28 by S.B. Ota contd. | (Tewari 2014, 150) |

Table 27: Recorded excavations at Bhimbetka.

Of the excavations following Wakankar, those of shelter III F-23 by V.N. Misra from 1974-1976 remain the most important. Shelter III F-23 is one of the largest, and contains the longest continuous occupational history (Misra 1976, 16), of over 3.8m (James et al. 2005, S8). The richness of the deposits is indicated by the fact that they yielded over 100,000 stone artefacts in total (Alam et al. 1992, 21), including 32,026 quartzite artefacts mostly from the Acheulian and Middle Palaeolithic (Misra 1982, 10).

Also important was the excavation of III F-24, known as the 'Auditorium cave', by Kumar and Bednarik in 2002 which established the cupules found there to be among the oldest petroglyphs known anywhere in the world (Bednarik et al. 2005, 155).

The ASI carried out conservation work at the site during the 1995-96 season (Menon 2002, 196), and improves the site for non-destructive access by visitors by adding pathways and railings on a near annual basis. Issues facing the site include not only exposure to visitors (ASI 2002, 66), but also erosion due to deforestation (Ota 2005, 87) and damage from the roots of fig trees (Husain et al. 2005, 595), as well as lichens (Ota 2005, 86) and exposure to the sun (Ota 2009, 81–87).

### 5.2.3 The World Heritage site

The Rock Shelters of Bhimbetka were inscribed on the World Heritage List on July 3rd 2003 (Ota 2005, 83), justified under criteria iii and v of the UNESCO guidelines (UNESCO 2002, 6). For criterion iii, UNESCO states that "Bhimbetka reflects a long interaction between people and the landscape, as demonstrated in the quantity and quality of its rock art", while for criterion v, "Bhimbetka is closely associated with a hunting and gathering economy as demonstrated in the rock art and in the relicts of this tradition in the local *adivasi* villages on the periphery of this site" (UNESCO 2016c). The latter statement explicitly describes a continuity between the earlier users of the rock shelters and the current tribal communities in the area, and effectively assigns these communities a pivotal role as part of the site.

The management plan for Bhimbetka is comprehensive and takes into consideration the large and complex nature of the site, with tangible and living cultural heritage as well as its ecological context. The stated aims of the plan include:

> To improve the economic conditions of the adivasi settlements by ensuring that a substantial amount of the benefit from increased tourism reaches them.
>
> …
>
> To ensure that the increased tourism and consequent increased economic activity is not detrimental to the continuity of adivasi traditions and adivasi culture.
>
> *(ASI 2002, 68)*

The plan also undertakes to increase arable land and forest around the local communities in order to reduce pressure on the World Heritage site, without disadvantaging them (ASI 2002, 68).

The core zone of Bhimbetka comprises 1,893 ha, and is surrounded by a buffer zone of 10,280 ha (UNESCO 2003, 43) (and see Figure 40 and Figure 41).

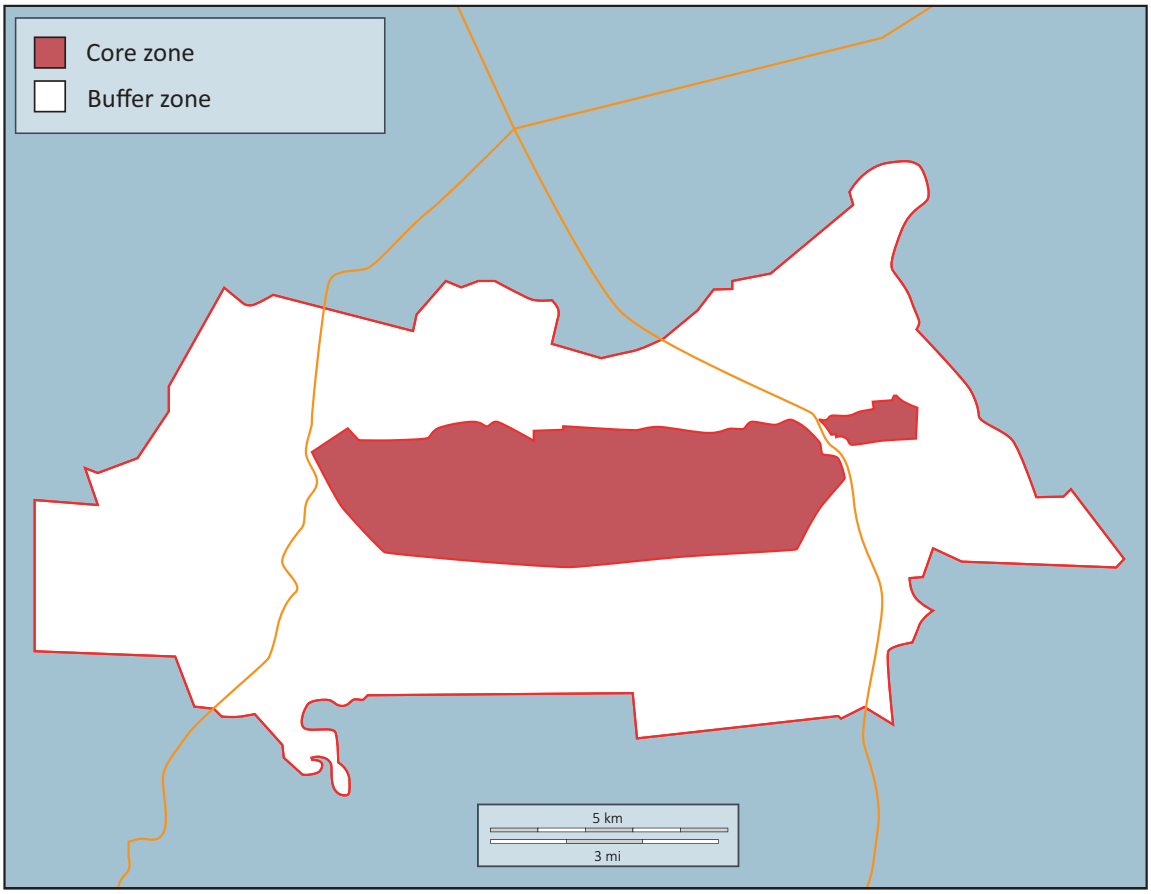



Figure 40: The core and buffer zones at Bhimbetka

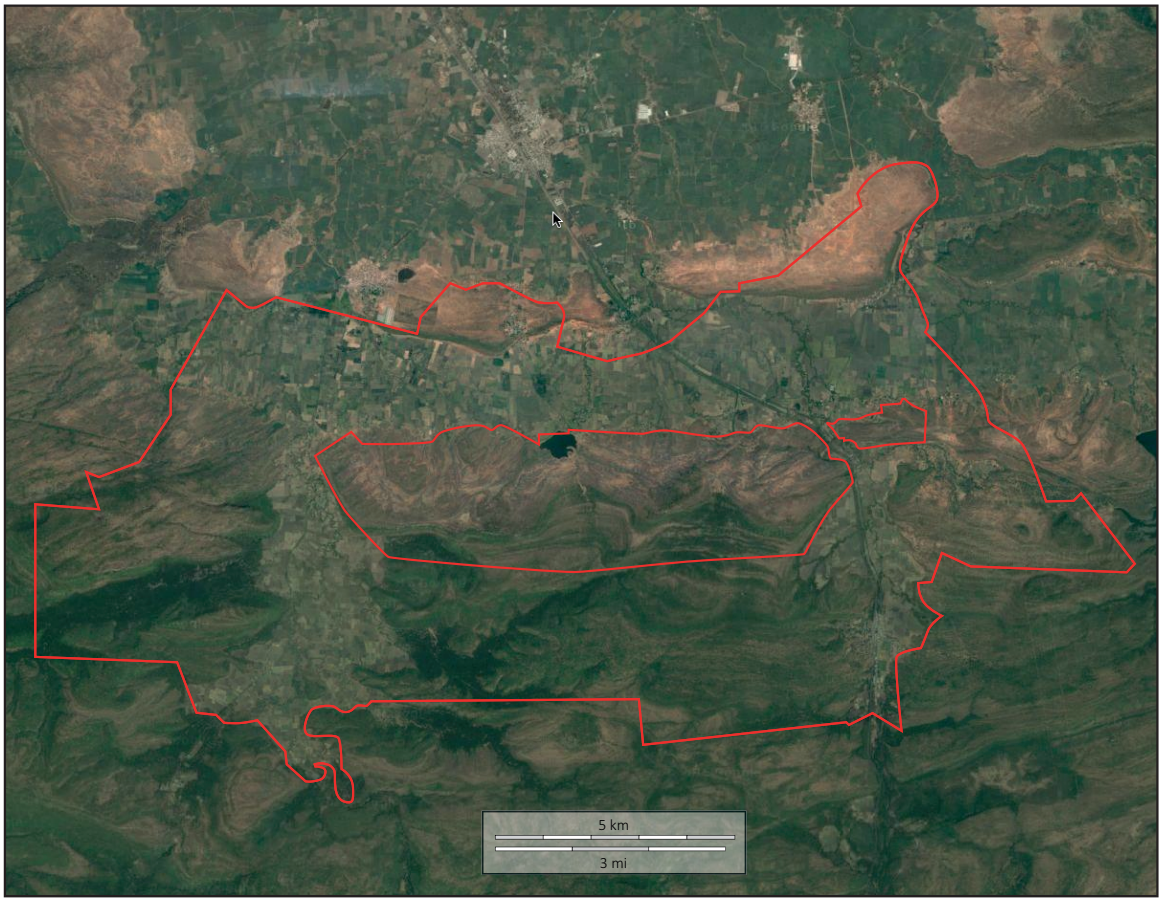



Figure 41: The core and buffer zones at Bhimbetka (image data copyright 2016 Google).

### 5.2.4 The local communities

The buffer zone contains 21 villages (see Figure 42), with a total population of 15,648 people recorded during the 2011 census (DCO MP 2015). Sixteen of these villages have a majority tribal population (see Table 28), comprised predominantly of Gonds, Pardhans, Korkus and also some Bhils who are more recent migrants (Nagar 1977, 23).

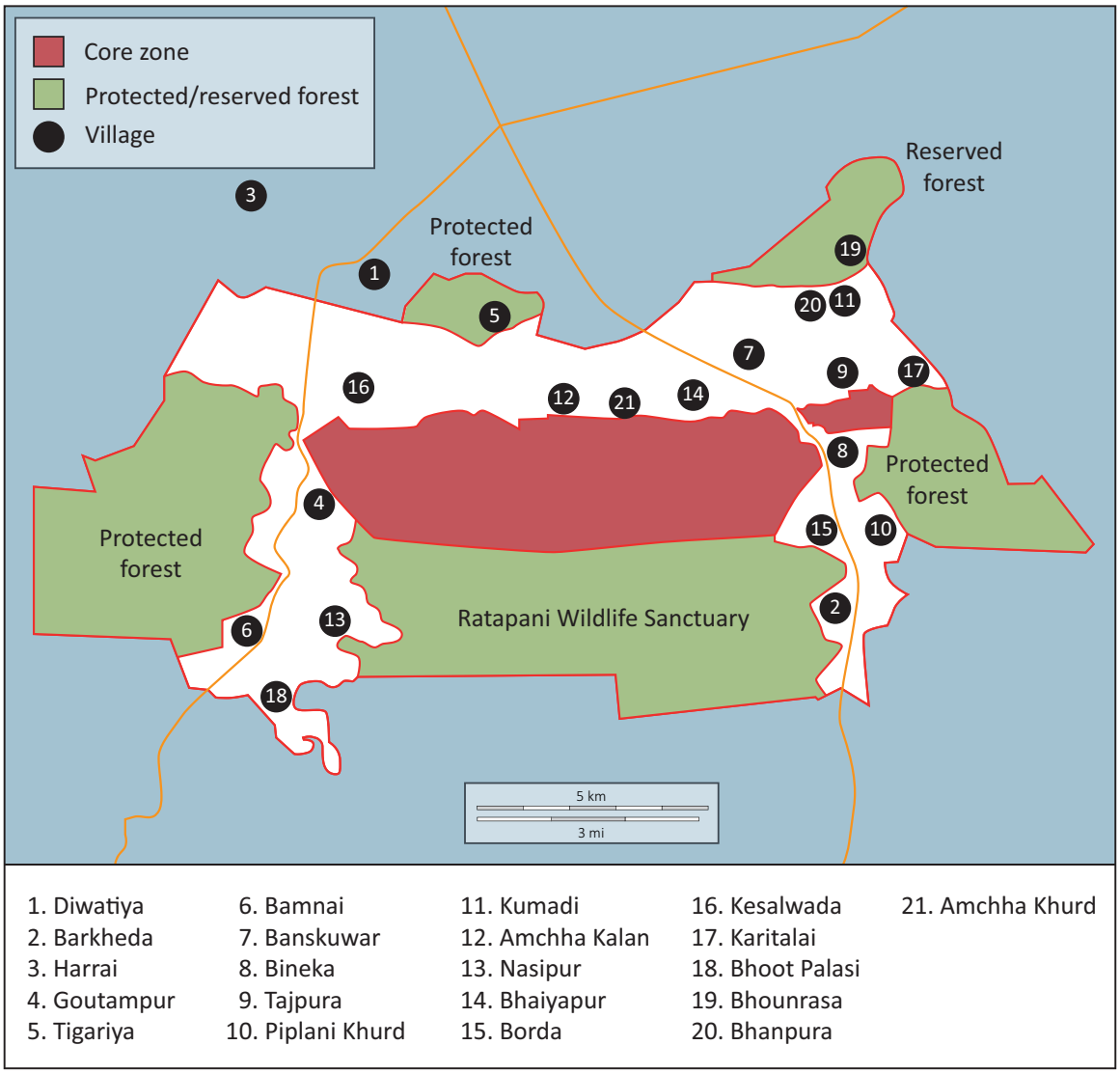



Figure 42: Villages in and around the Bhimbetka buffer zone (map adapted from ASI 2002, 19; villages numbered in order of size with data derived from DCO MP 2015).

| No. | Village | No. households | Persons | % SC | % ST |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Diwatiya | 874 | 3,972 | 10% | 16% |
| 2 | Barkheda | 403 | 1,821 | 7% | 11% |
| 3 | Harrai | 266 | 1,369 | 10% | 72% |
| 4 | Goutampur | 236 | 1,302 | 47% | 42% |
| 5 | Tigariya | 180 | 806 | 6% | 32% |
| 6 | Bamnai | 180 | 781 | 10% | 65% |
| 7 | Banskuwar | 193 | 773 | 7% | 59% |
| 8 | Bineka | 130 | 734 | 7% | 68% |
| 9 | Tajpura | 93 | 503 | 2% | 72% |
| 10 | Piplani Khurd | 90 | 471 | 11% | 82% |
| 11 | Kumadi | 97 | 440 | 3% | 76% |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 | Amchha Kalan | 84 | 431 | 3% | 75% |
| 13 | Nasipur | 85 | 410 | 7% | 57% |
| 14 | Bhaiyapur | 86 | 376 | 9% | 47% |
| 15 | Borda | 60 | 320 | 4% | 83% |
| 16 | Kesalwada | 69 | 306 | 3% | 84% |
| 17 | Karitalai | 61 | 294 | 4% | 73% |
| 18 | Bhoot Palasi | 61 | 262 | 0% | 100% |
| 19 | Bhounrasa | 16 | 106 | 0% | 95% |
| 20 | Bhanpura | 22 | 95 | 17% | 66% |
| 21 | Amchha Khurd | 17 | 76 | 22% | 68% |

Table 28: Villages in the Bhimbetka buffer zone, ordered by 2011 census population (Data derived from DCO MP 2015).

In line with the rest of Madhya Pradesh, around 59% of the population of the buffer zone villages is unemployed, with 27.2% fully employed and 13.8% working less than six months per year (Data derived from DCO MP 2015).Having been economically exploited for some time by the local Hindu and Muslim landowners and made dependent on agricultural labour for income, local communities and in particular the tribal people no longer have much free time for art or for travelling too far from the fields (Nagar 1977, 24–25), which directly affects their ability to utilise the rock shelters and could be one reason for the break in painting activity there.

The high level of full and seasonal unemployment also increases these communities' dependence on local forest resources. Figure 41 clearly shows cultivation activity within less-forested areas of the buffer zone. Outside of these areas, the local forest contains at least 76 species of edible and medicinal plants (Nagar 1985, 338). Collection of these plants is not only a traditional activity, but one on which the tribal people often exclusively depend during lean periods of the year (Nagar 1977, 24; Misra 1976, 15), knowing the exact locations of each plant (Ota 2006, 150).

Hunting for game within the forest continues (Nagar 1977, 24), along with other subsistence activities including honey collection, gathering wood for fuel, and grazing cattle (Ota 2006, 150).

Despite the fact that the World Heritage nomination specifically seeks to include the local communities, they are prohibited under the law from utilising large parts of the site. As can be seen in Figure 42, more than half of the buffer zone is classified as either reserved forest, protected forest, or wildlife sanctuary, regulated by The Indian Forest Act 1927, The Forest (Conservation) Act 1980, and The Wildlife (Protection) Act 1972 respectively. This

issue has been mitigated in part by the intervention of the initial site manager, S.B. Ota (Ota 2005, 83), under whom the ASI managed to negotiate exceptions to allow cattle grazing and harvesting of plants by villagers but not outsiders, though he notes that a longer term legal foundation for this arrangement needs to be established (Ota 2006, 154).

Equally important is religious use of locations within the buffer and core zones by local tribal people. While Forsyth noted in the 19th century that tribal people throughout India were tending to adopt Hindu customs, including cremation (Forsyth 1889, 155), this does not seem to have been the case with the Gond communities in Madhya Pradesh (van Helvert 1950, 213–214), also confirmed for the villages around Bhimbetka (Nagar 1977, 25). Caring for the departed is seen by Gonds as very important for the wellbeing of the community, and graveyards receive regular attention (von Fürer-Haimendorf 1952, 48). The core zone also contains shrines to the Gond deity Burha Baba, which are located away from the villages in the hills at hidden locations known only to the priests (Nagar 1977, 25). It is therefore incorrect to claim that the landscape of the core and buffer zones is not claimed or in use by the tribal communities, when places of worship of great importance to them are in fact distributed throughout them.

### 5.2.5 Tourism

The potential of Bhimbetka in terms of tourism has been highly touted since its discovery, as in a *Times of India* interview with V.S. Wakankar about its 'discovery':

> "Some day, he predicts, the caves at Bhimbetka will attract as many tourists as the frescoes of Ajanta do today. He is not wrong. After all, the caves at Lascaux attract more than 1,800 tourists per day. When Dr. Wakankar's dreams are realised, India will be known for one more unique tourist attraction."
>
> *(ToI 1982, 15)*

This value of the site was seen as even greater following the discovery of skeletal remains by archaeologists, as shown in a further *Times of India* article:

> "This very recent discovery presages several exciting possibilities for Bhimbetka – it could well head the list of places to visit for those interested in the beginnings of man; indeed, it could even be turned into a sort of pre-historic park signifying the lives of our ancestors."
>
> *(Ahmed 1988, 3)*

Finally, the inscription of the site on the World Heritage List was seen as a vindication of this promise:

> "Reacting to the inclusion of Bhimbetka in the world heritage list, an elated Indian tourism and culture minister said, 'It is considered a feather in the cap, coming in the context of the Taj controversy.'
>
> Addressing mediapersons in New Delhi, he said the move would go a long way in reinforcing the antiquity of Indian civilisation and promoting cultural tourism."
>
> *(ToI 2004b, 12)*

The management plan for the World Heritage site includes proposals to produce a tourism development plan that will benefit both local community and conservation (ASI 2002, 74). In order to do this, it includes statements of intent to locate new facilities in the local village of Bhaiyapur, including a site museum and an interpretation centre, to help "visitors to understand and respect local ways of life, culture and continuity", and for the economic benefit of the village also a museum shop, as well as additional "shops, outlets for local indigenous crafts and eating facilities" (ASI 2002, 75).

It should be noted that according to the management plan however, none of the initial Rs. 10 million budget was allocated for these purposes (ASI 2002, 82), and none appear to have been implemented to date. The interviews conducted with villagers as part of this study therefore sought to understand whether they felt the site has benefited them as described, and how this has affected their perceptions.

The Madhya Pradesh State Tourism Development Corporation has however begun to develop tourist-friendly facilities nearby, with a simple five-room hotel at the junction of the main road from Bhopal and the approach road.

If Bhimbetka is to achieve its tourism potential, then improving transport links will be important. At the moment the site is accessible by bus and car from Bhopal. Bhopal airport (46km away) is connected with Mumbai, Delhi, Jabalpur, Indore and Gwalior, but has no international connections, while by rail Bhopal is best connected on the Delhi-Chennai and Delhi-Mumbai mainlines (Gov. India 2011k, 201).

Even taking into account accessibility, Bhimbetka does not yet attract large numbers of tourists compared to other sites in Madhya Pradesh. It is difficult to compare directly as there are no comprehensive statistics available, with data on 2003 and 2004 provided by the ASI and for 2006 and 2007 from the Government of India, as shown in Figure 43 and Figure 44 respectively.

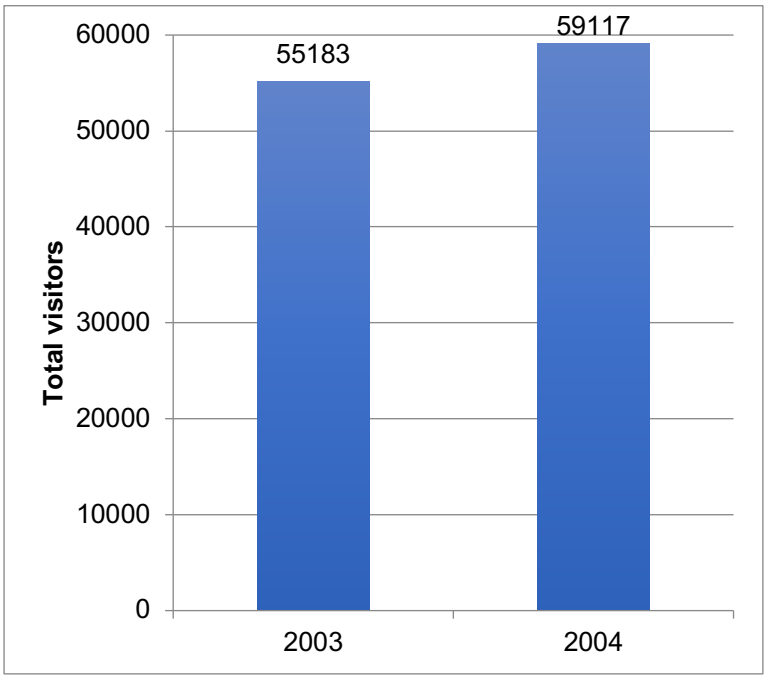



Figure 43: Bhimbetka visitor statistics for 2003-2004 (data from Ota 2009, 38)

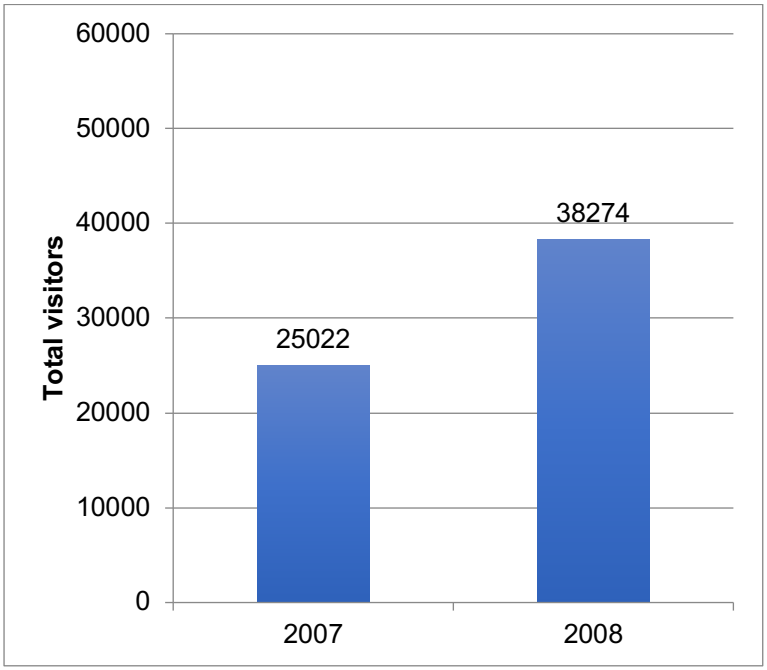



Figure 44: Bhimbetka visitor statistics for 2007-2008 (data from Gov. India 2011k, 204)

As they are based on on-site measurement of visitor numbers, the ASI figures are likely to be the more accurate and reliable. Nevertheless, the numbers are still very low when compared to government estimates of over 900,000 visitors to the nearby natural heritage site of Chitrakoot Falls (Gov. India 2011k, 204).

### 5.2.6 Site-specific approach

Two sets of questionnaire surveys were conducted at the site, as described in chapter four. The local resident surveys were conducted at the following four villages in the buffer zone: Bhaiyapur, Bineka, Amchha Khurd, and Amchha Kalan.

## 5.3 Case study two: The Buddhist Monuments of Sanchi

### 5.3.1 Introduction

The Buddhist Monuments of Sanchi World Heritage site is located 46km north-east of Bhopal, 9km south-west of Vidisha in Raisen district, Raisen tehsil (see Figure 45). The site is located on the top of the hill of Sanchi, on the left bank of the Betwa river. The hill rises 91m above the surrounding plain, and measures 384m north-south, by 201m east-west (ASI 2001, 1). It is the most prominent of several sites containing Buddhist remains close to the town of Bhilsa or Vidisha, and therefore known as the Bhilsa topes (or stupas) (Cunningham 1854).

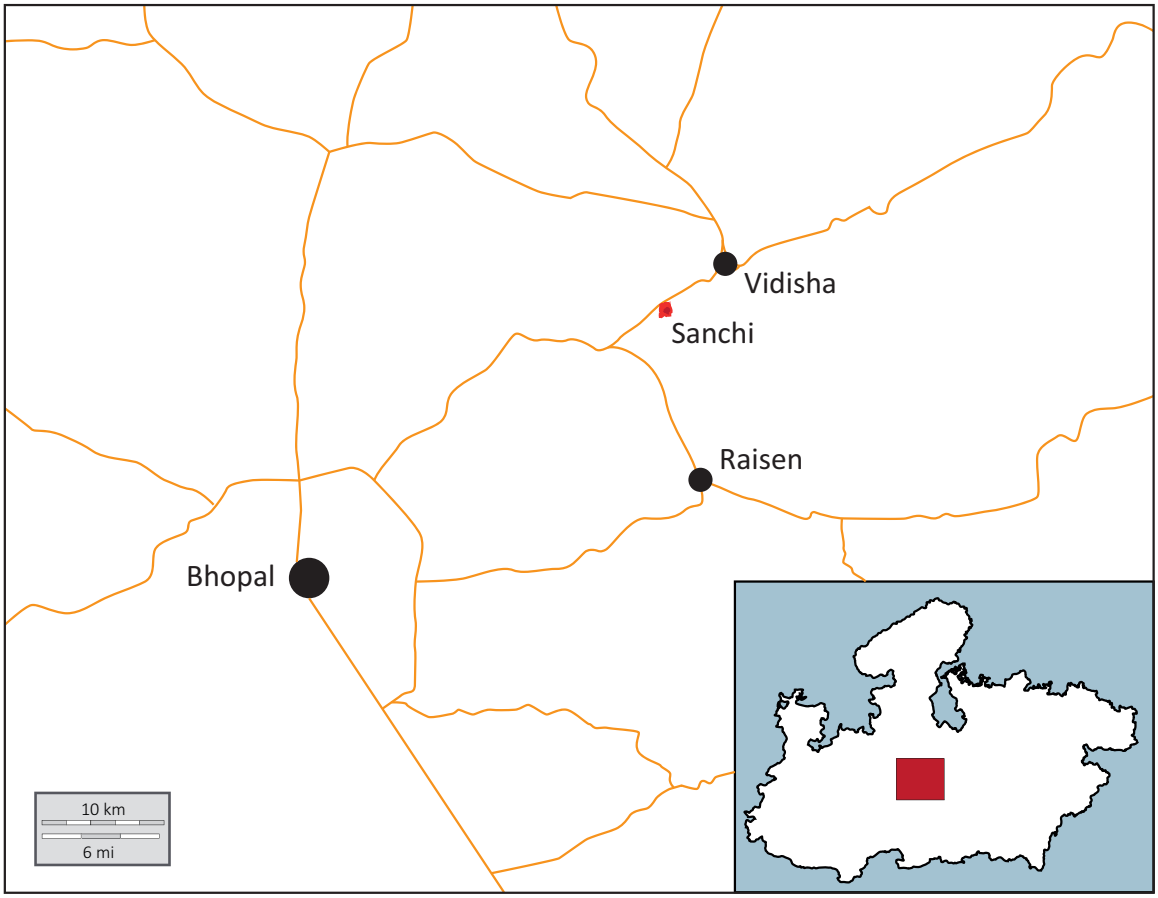



Figure 45: Map showing the location of Sanchi in Madhya Pradesh.

The name Sanchi is thought to be a corruption of Śānti or tranquillity (Cunningham 1854, 180–181), although during Asoka's time it was Kākanāda, or 'noise of the crow' (Bhattacharyya 1977, 211), and in the first Pali annals it is referred to as 'Chaityaghiri', or 'Mountain of the Chaïtyas' (Rousselet 1882, 433).

The site is first known to have been occupied from around 275 BCE, when the Emperor Asoka of the Mauryan dynasty founded a Buddhist sanctuary there and erected a stone column with edicts (Keay 2010, 90), part of a state-sponsored spreading of the religion (Guha-Thakurta 2013, 77). The site grew and flourished thereafter, and now provides an almost unparalleled opportunity to study the development of Buddhist art and architecture over a 1,300 year period, up until the 12th century CE (ASI 2001, 4), containing "at once the most magnificent and the most perfect examples of Buddhist architecture in India" (Marshall 1918, 2) (see Figure 46).

Figure 46: Sanchi, the great stupa.

Similarly an early *Times of India* article stated that the "… sculptures of the Toranas form a perfect picture Bible of Buddhism as it existed in the India of the second century B.C." (ToI 1936, 5).

As described by Marshall (Marshall 1918, 7–25), Sanchi developed through three main periods. The early period, from ca. 300 BCE to 400 CE, covering the period from Asoka's rise to the overthrow of the Kshatrapas, was characterised by more primitive and undeveloped sculpture and architecture. The Gupta period, from 400-647 CE, starting with the reign of Chandragupta II and ending with the death of the Emperor Harsha, was seen as the golden age, with much more expressive and articulate sculpture. Finally the medieval period, from 643 CE through to the site's abandonment in the 13th century, saw

a decline in the quality and sophistication of both art and construction, in line with growing Hindu influence and an associated backlash against Buddhism.

The first recorded British visit to Sanchi was by General Taylor of the Bengal Cavalry in 1818, who noted that while the gateways were partly fallen, overall the site was generally undisturbed and in a remarkable state of preservation (Burgess 1902, 33). The first sketches of the monuments were made a year later by a Dr Yeld, whose notebooks were unfortunately only discovered 15 years later (Prinsep 1834, 489). Edward Fell visited the site later that year however, and gave the following report:

> "On the table-land of a detached hill, distant from Bhilsa four miles and a half, in a south-westerly direction, is an ancient fabric, of a hemispherical form, built of thin layers of free-stone, in the nature of steps, without any cement, and to all appearance solid; the outside of which has been faced throughout with a coat of chunam mortar, four inches thick; most of this still remains in perfect preservation…
>
> I am induced strongly to suspect (enforced by the general impression the structure made upon me whilst examining it, and an aperture appearing in every representation of the monument, sculptured in the different compartments of the gate-ways, and even on detached stones), that it is supported by internal pillars. If so, apartments undoubtedly exist within, highly interesting, and worthy of being further examined."
>
> *(Fell 1834, 490)*

Fell's description invited the unwelcome attention of treasure hunters shortly afterward (Cunningham 1847, 746), and over the following century Sanchi was to be regularly excavated, photographed and written about, becoming extremely well known internationally. It played an important role in the building of India's identity outside of India, including photographs of the site being displayed by Fergusson at the 1867 Paris Exhibition (Guha-Thakurta 2013, 84). This evoked so much interest that Napoleon III himself sent a request to the Begum of Bhopal for one of the gateways to be sent to Paris (Burgess 1902, 38). The Begum refused, and instead agreed to plaster casts being sent to Paris and London. Her appreciation of the site is evidenced in her memoirs:

> "The most wonderful ancient buildings in the state of Bhopal are at Sanchi Kanakhera, a small village under the brow of a hill some 20 miles north-east of Bhopal which we visited yesterday. We inspected the stone sculptures and statues of the Buddha and an ancient gateway … The ruins appear to be the object of great interest to European gentlemen…"
>
> *(Nawab Shahjahan 1876, 219–220)*

The site even assumed exaggerated importance, with Fergusson for example claiming that:

> "…it may fairly be assumed that the great Tope is one of the 84,000 which Asoka is traditionally said to have erected. If so, it is the only one of them all still remaining in India, and the oldest stone building in the country."
>
> *(Fergusson 1868, 90)*

This in turn led Curzon to also claim Sanchi as oldest of India's monuments in a speech to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal (Curzon 1900, 2), and while not accurate, such claims brought the site a high profile and an associated level of protection.

Because of its Buddhist function, the site is generally seen in modern studies as having been a Buddhist island among the other communities and cultures of the region, especially the Hindus, Muslims and Jains. This would of course not always have been the case, and as elsewhere in Madhya Pradesh there are also six rock shelters on the eastern side of Sanchi hill (Wakankar 1971, 66), which contain large numbers of cave paintings and microliths (Kumar 1995, 41), as well as eight further painted shelters nearby at Kanakheda and three at Nagori (ToI 1973, 9).

There is also very good evidence, that there was considerable interaction with tribal communities once Buddhism became established at the site. Fergusson in particular noted the prominence given to figures in many of the sculptures engaged in tree and serpent worship, and asked:

> "Who then were these people? From their dwelling in the woods and the peculiarity of their costume both General Cunningham and Colonel Maisey are inclined to regard them as priests or ascetics… After a careful study of all the bas-reliefs bearing on this subject, it does not appear to me doubtful that the sculptors at Sanchi meant to represent this people as the aboriginal inhabitants of the country of Malwa..."
>
> *(Fergusson 1868, 94)*

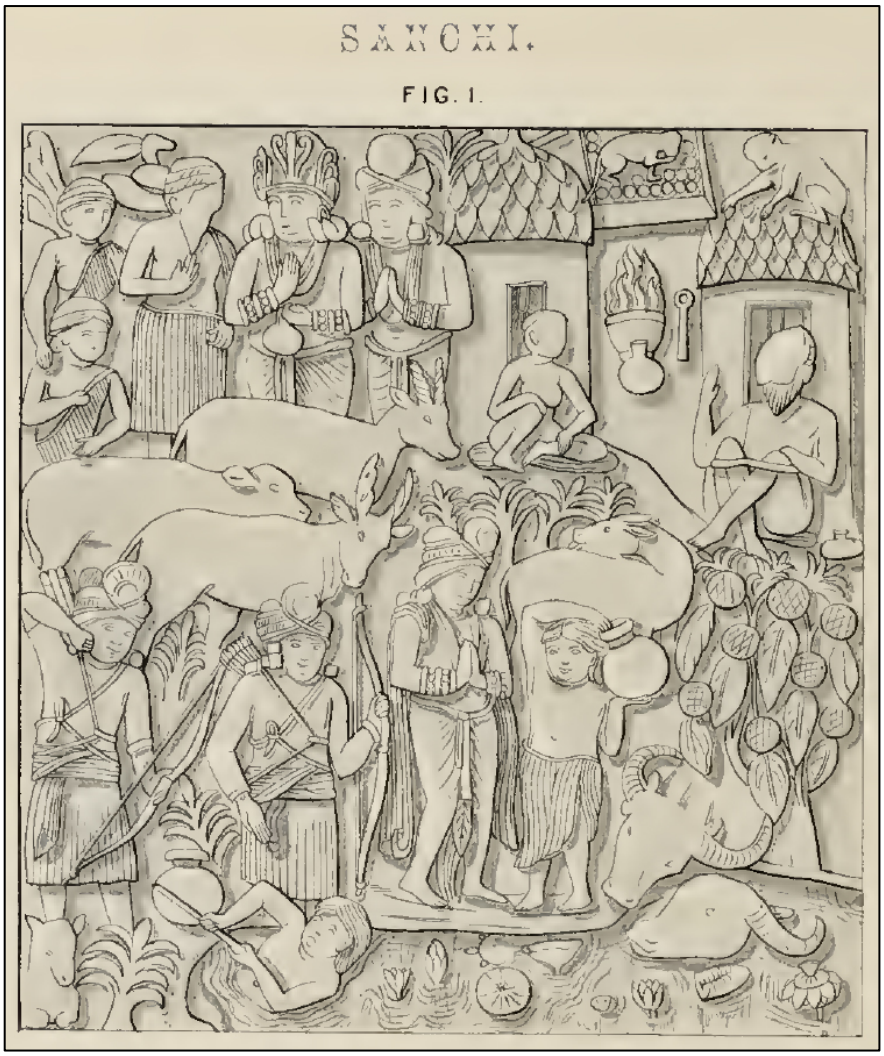



Figure 47: Figures from Sanchi interpreted by Fergusson to be 'Dasyus' or tribal people and their village, being visited by a Hindu raja and his minister (Fergusson 1868, plate XXXVI).

After reviewing the evidence as best he could, Fergusson concluded that:

> "The people whose manners and customs appear to present the closest affinities with what we find on the monuments, are those now known as the Gonds and other closely-allied tribes inhabiting the country to the south of the Vindhya hills."
>
> *(Fergusson 1868, 225–226)*

The knowledge that tribal people had maintained a presence throughout the entire history of Sanchi, and still did with the arrival of Europeans, is also evident in the thoughts of Rousselet:

> "…it is probable that, in the midst of the crisis of the tenth century, the valley was invaded by the Bheels of Malwa, and returned to its state of barbarism."
>
> *(Rousselet 1882, 433)*

Although ignored in all other books about Sanchi, and not mentioned at all in guides to the World Heritage site, these tribal links are important. It appears that tribal people have had close contacts with the monks at Sanchi over its history and are depicted in its artwork, so it seems reasonable to assume that they could also claim the site as part of their heritage. This is something that is explored in the local community surveys later in this study.

### 5.3.2 Archaeological investigations at Sanchi

As intimated above, as knowledge of Fell's speculations on what might lie inside the Sanchi stupas spread, it aroused the interest of treasure hunters as keenly as that of more serious archaeologists. The result was that the first excavations carried out by Herbert Maddock, the Political Agent at Bhopal, and his assistant Captain Johnson in 1822, were haphazardly and unprofessionally conducted, involving no scientific interest in the site and causing a great deal of damage (ASI 2001, 11). Their methods were reported by Cunningham (and see Figure 48):

> "Instead however of driving small galleries at nearly the level of the ground into the interior, the explorers began digging pits as it were into the buildings, from the top or at about half way down the side, and as the stones used in the construction of the hemispheres were not cemented with lime, a third of one monument and a fifth portion of the other have been destroyed. Falling rubbish has upset or buried stone colonnades and the searches for coins or inner chambers do not appear ever to have reached the bottom of either Tope."
>
> *(Cunningham 1847, 746)*

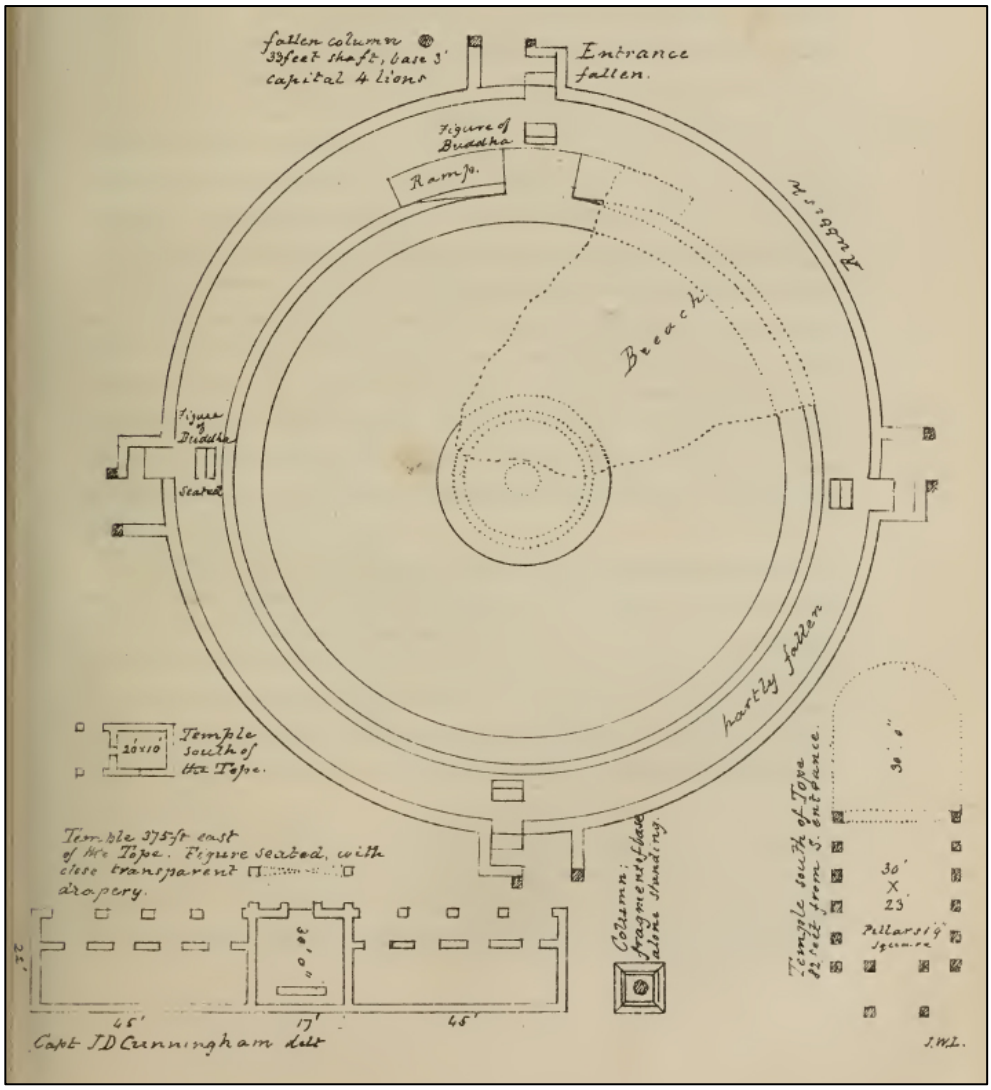



Figure 48: Cunningham's illustration of the extent of the damage to the great stupa by Maddock and Johnson (Cunningham 1847, plate XXVII).

Described by Burgess as "bungling amateur antiquaries or searchers for coins in their blundering excavations" (Burgess 1902, 34), they were particularly taken to task by Rousselet, to the acute embarrassment of the English colonial government and the ASI:

> "…it is impossible to account for the miraculous chance which has caused the monuments of Sanchi to escape the fury of the victorious Brahmins and the vandalism of the Mussulmans. In 1822, some Englishmen, traveling over the country, discovered them, and shamefully pillaged them on the plea of archaeology."
>
> *(Rousselet 1882, 433)*

Maddock and Johnson found the great stupa to be completely solid however, and came away empty handed (Spilsbury 1835, 132). The Archaeological Survey was forced to take preservation of the site seriously as a result of the furore, and while subsequent

archaeological investigations of the site varied in their quality, they were carried out more scientifically and with conservation in mind. A summary of all archaeology known to have taken place is given below in Table 29.

| Dates | Investigation details | Reference |
|---|---|---|
| 1822 | Excavation of two main stupas by Maddock and Johnson | |
| ca. 1851 | Conservation work by Maisey and Cunningham | |
| 1875-77 | Excavation by Cunningham | |
| 1881-84 | Restoration work by H.H. Cole | |
| 1912 | Excavation by Marshall | |
| ? | Restoration work done by Cook | |
| 1936 | Excavation of monastery by Hamid | |
| 1993-94 | Excavation of stupa and residential structure by R.C. Agrawal | (Agrawal et al. 2000, 71) |
| 1995-96 | Excavation of 24 votive, 4 other stupas and rear side of monastery by A.K. Sinha | (Sinha, Dayalan, et al. 2002, 47–48) |
| 1996-97 | Excavation of 1st-5th C monastic complexes by A.K. Sinha | (Sinha, Vyas, et al. 2002, 65) |
| 1999-00 | Excavation of temple and monastery remains by P.K. Mishra | (Mishra et al. 2005, 99) |
| 2000-01 | Excavation of a small temple by P.K. Mishra | (Mishra et al. 2006, 91) |
| 2003-04 | Excavation of temple no. 45 by S.B. Ota | (Ota et al. 2011, 151) |

Table 29: Recorded excavations at Sanchi.

The interest of James Prinsep was engaged when he received some illustrations of the architecture and inscriptions at Sanchi from the ethnologist Brian Hodgson. It is illustrative of the number of intellectually engaged members of the East India Company and colonial services spread throughout India at the time that the following appeal made in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* in 1834 received several detailed responses:

> "It is much to be wished that some amateur artist would pay a visit to the spot, and bring away accurate drawings of the whole details of this highly interesting object of antiquity."
>
> *(Prinsep 1834, 488–489)*

As a result he received drawings of the gateway sculptures from Dr Spilsbury, copies of 25 inscriptions from Captain E. Smith, and a large number of drawings from Captain W. Murray, and was finally able to decrypt the Brahmi script (Prinsep 1837, 452).

The next to study the site was Lieutenant F.C. Maisey in 1849, and after a year studying the site he was joined by Alexander Cunningham. They spent seven weeks repairing the stupas from the damage wrought by Maddock and Johnson and managed to recover several important devotional Buddhist relics while excavating. While Cunningham saw

their work as highly successful (Cunningham 1854, x), it was done with characteristically great speed and little attention to detail, as Cunningham himself describes:

> "I arrived at Sanchi on the 23rd of January, 1851, and the same morning, after only a few hours' work, we found the relics of Sariputa and Mogalana, the two chief disciples of Buddha, in the ruins of No. 3 Stupa."
>
> *(Cunningham 1892, xi)*

Cunningham was similarly disinclined to worry about preserving the monuments *in situ*:

> "I would also venture to recommend that the two fallen gateways of the Sanchi Tope should be removed to the British Museum, where they would form the most striking objects in a Hall of Indian Antiquities. The value of these sculptured gateways will, I feel confident, be highly appreciated after their perusal of the brief account of them included in this work; while their removal to England would ensure their preservation."
>
> *(Cunningham 1854, xi)*

Marshall was deeply unimpressed by the quality of their work, claiming that they "… together contributed to the general spoliation of the site by hasty excavations in several of the monuments… their discoveries scarcely compensated for the damage entailed in their operations" (Marshall 1918, 26–27).

Maisey and Cunningham fell out over interpretation of the site, with Maisey concluding that there was no evidence to date Buddhism as early as the 6$^{th}$ century BCE, or for identifying the site with Asoka (Maisey 1892, 2). Cunningham rightly dismissed these conclusions however as he felt that Maisey was "biased by the pious wish to prove that Christianity was prior to Buddhism" (Cunningham 1892, xv).

Cunningham then returned to the site from 1875-1877, and excavated an additional 30 pillars and railings from around the site, many with inscriptions (Cunningham 1880, 56).

The Frenchman Louis Rousselet visited Sanchi in 1867, and was struck by the importance of the monuments, particularly with regard to their record of the cultural past of India:

> "For it is in this obscure valley of Bhilsa, buried in the heart of the Vindhya solitudes, that a miracle chance has preserved to us the first authentic monuments of Indian civilisation, or rather, I may say, the original types of the architecture of the whole of the extreme East. Nor do I think I exaggerate in placing these monuments on an equality with those most renowned in Egypt and Assyria. Do they not present to us, in an incomparable series of basso-relievos, a faithful and highly finished picture of the life, manners, and civilisation of India twenty-five centuries before our own?"
>
> *(Rousselet 1882, 421)*

The next work to be done on the site was by Major H.H. Cole, who was given generous funding by the government for repairs on the stupas, much to the satisfaction of Curzon (Curzon 1900, 6). This opinion was not shared by Burgess however, who noted that much of the work was not correctly executed (Burgess 1884).

Curzon himself visited Sanchi in 1899, an event that signified the high regard in which the site was held (see Figure 49). Finding its condition unsatisfactory, he requested further restoration work (Lahiri 2000, 100).

Figure 49: Curzon visiting Sanchi in 1899 (photo: Deen Dayal, Curzon Collection, Digital South Asia Library).

Curzon was not alone in his concern for the state of the monuments, and the *Times of India* also lobbied for their protection:

> "The conservation of archaeological remains so unique as the topes at Sanchi is a matter of the greatest importance to all who are interested in the history of ancient India, and it is much to be regretted that more care has not been bestowed on their preservation."
>
> *(ToI 1903, 5)*

The work that followed however was a continuation of the missteps of Cole, this time involving the State Engineer, Cook. Instead of restoring and preserving existing segments of the railing, Cook began replacing them, until he was finally stopped when this was reported to Marshall, as "appalling vandalism" by the visiting Captain Luard, who elaborated that:

> "The magnificent monoliths are being replaced by mortar joined pillars in 3 sections, which absolutely alters and destroys the entire individuality of the railing… The removed monoliths bearing records in Pali 1900 years old are being ruthlessly pulverised and flung away."
>
> *(Luard 1905)*

Unfortunately those sections that had been replaced could apparently no longer be removed and so still remain in place today (Marshall 1905). The Begum was then petitioned by the Indian government to support stronger measures for protecting the site and giving control of it over to the government (Russell 1906), to which she agreed on the former, but not the latter:

> "… I shall be glad to see that the Buddhist monument in this state is carefully preserved as a monument of archaeological interest. On general economic principles it is not desirable that the Government of India should bear the expenses of keeping up such a monument which should be preserved by the Bhopal State, at his own expense."
>
> *(HH Begum of Bhopal 1905)*

When Marshall began his work on the site in 1912 therefore, it was with the full financial support of the Begum, and he made it very clear that this local, indigenous support for his work was of great importance:

> "The debt which all lovers of Indian art and antiquities owe to Her Highness the Ruler of Bhopal for the exploration and preservation of these remains, has been stated in the dedication of this book. For me this debt is still further enhanced by Her Highness' ever active interest and sympathy in the work..."
>
> *(Marshall 1918, vii)*

Marshall's work at Sanchi lasted for eight years, and included clearing the site of vegetation, repairing the damage caused by earlier excavators, recording inscriptions, building a museum to house the movable antiquities from the site, and excavating new areas (Marshall 1918, 28). He described this work as having "resulted in discoveries even more fruitful than I had anticipated, many fresh and interesting buildings being brought to light and a large array of sculptures added to the already existing collection" (Marshall et al. 1940, iii). This work from 1912-1920 finally stabilised the site and put into the condition it is still in today. During this time N.G. Majumdar worked on the site recording and translating inscriptions, and Alfred Foucher recorded and interpreted the sculptures. The resulting work to which all three contributed, *The Monuments of Sanchi* (Marshall et al. 1940), is now the definitive work on the site.

From this point onward, all work on the site has been carried out by Indian archaeologists from the ASI. In 1936, M. Hamid, the Superintendent of Archaeology in Bhopal, excavated a monastery structure to the east of stupa number 2, the results of which led him to conclude that this was likely the monastery dedicated to the wife of Asoka (Hamid 1949, 86).

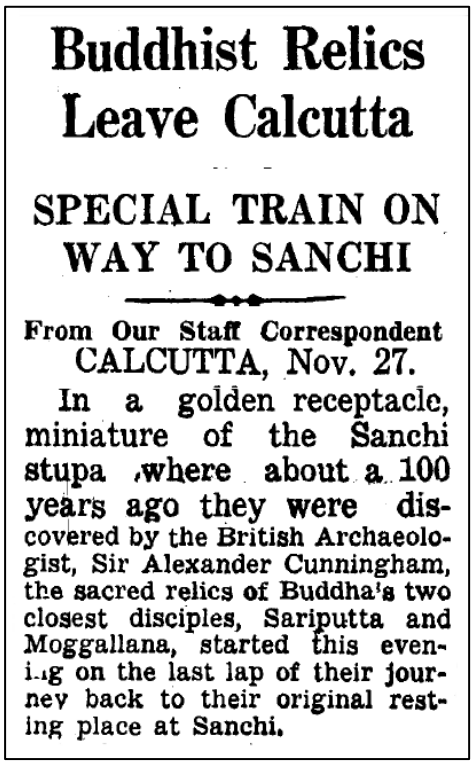
Prior to Indian independence, Bhopal State had already begun to negotiate for the repatriation of items removed from Sanchi to Britain.

NEW SANCHI VIHARA

His Highness the Nawab of Bhopal laying the foundation stone of the vihara (temple) at Sanchi for the enshrinement of the relics of Sariputta and Maha Moggallana, two of the chief disciples of Buddha. The vihara is being built by the Maha Bodhi Society of Ceylon, and the Ceylon Prime Minister, Mr. D. S. Senanayake, was among those at the ceremony.

Figure 50: A *Times of India* article from 1848 showing the Nawab of Bhopal inaugurating the construction of the *vihara* for housing the repatriated relics (ToI 1948, 5).

The 1950's saw further material from Sanchi returned from British museums. In 1866 Maisey had loaned one set of relics and their caskets that he and Cunningham had excavated in 1851 to the South Kensington Museum (Ray 2014, 120), while Cunningham had sent the other set to the British Museum in 1887 (Ray 2014, 122). The first of these were repatriated in 1952 (ToI 1952b, 1) (and see Figure 51), with Prime Minister Nehru himself carrying the relics up the hill to the *vihara,* and the second in 1956 (ToI 1956, 3).



**Buddhist Relics Leave Calcutta**

**SPECIAL TRAIN ON WAY TO SANCHI**

**From Our Staff Correspondent**

**CALCUTTA, Nov. 27.**

**In a golden receptacle, miniature of the Sanchi stupa where about a 100 years ago they were discovered by the British Archaeologist, Sir Alexander Cunningham, the sacred relics of Buddha's two closest disciples, Sariputta and Moggallana, started this evening on the last lap of their journey back to their original resting place at Sanchi.**

Figure 51: The start of a front page *Times of India* article from 1952 on the repatriation of relics to Sanchi (ToI 1952b, 1).

As one of the most important modern sites of Buddhist pilgrimage, Sanchi now contains relics and other items from other locations as well. For example in 1966 relics from a stupa in Anurudhapura, near Ceylon, including pieces of bone from the Buddha himself, were sent to also be kept at the *vihara* (ToI 1966, 7).

The ASI resumed excavation work at Sanchi in the 1993-94 season, when R.C. Agrawal uncovered remains of a stupa and a residential structure on the south-east side of Stupa 1 (Agrawal et al. 2000, 71). A.K. Sinha then excavated 24 votive stupas, 4 other stupas further down the hill and the rear side of the monastery in 1995-96 (Sinha, Dayalan, et al. 2002, 47–48), followed by three levels of monastic complexes from the 1st-5th centuries in 1996-97 (Sinha, Vyas, et al. 2002, 65).

P.K. Mishra excavated temple and monastery remains during 1999-2001 (Mishra et al. 2005, 99; Mishra et al. 2006, 91), and the last recorded excavation was by S.B. Ota in 2003-04, of temple number 45 (Ota et al. 2011, 151). While all briefly mentioned in the ASI's annual *Indian Archaeology: a Review,* unfortunately none of the six excavations since 1993 have been published in any detail.

The importance of the Buddhist architecture and sculpture at Sanchi for Indian identity is underlined by the fact that it has been used in the design of the national flag and the national emblem, both based on elements of the famous 'Lion Capital' from Sarnath, which is mirrored in the sculpture of Sanchi. The reasoning behind this was explained by Nehru on a visit to Sanchi in 1952:

> "Mr Nehru said that the selection of the Asoka Chakra (wheel) for the National Flag and the adoption of the Asoka Lions for the National Emblem was not merely a matter of chance. It was deliberately done because these things denoted a sincere desire for peace and would work as a constant reminder to the people to continue to make incessant efforts in that direction."
>
> *(ToI 1952c, 3)*

The ASI also uses images explicitly from Sanchi in its logo (see Figure 52), emphasising its pride of place among sites in the country.


Figure 52: The logo of the Archaeological Survey of India, incorporating the great stupa, gate and the Asoka lions (copyright ASI).

### 5.3.3 The World Heritage site

It is interesting that while Sanchi was accepted for World Heritage status under UNESCO criterion vi ("directly or tangibly asociated with events or living traditions"), this has only been in accordance with Buddhist culture, and not with that of local and tribal people, who are depicted in the sculptures, and have interacted with the site intensively throughout the period of its active use. The interviews with local community members in this study have attempted to ascertain whether it is correct to view the site as Buddhist-only in its traditions and identity.

Sanchi was inscribed on the World Heritage List at an early period in the programme, when management plans were not required, and one has therefore unfortunately not been produced for the site to date (S.B. Ota, pers. comm.).

The boundaries of the site are shown in Figure 53 and Figure 54. It is indicative of both the lack of a developed management plan, and the view that the site was only ever an isolated Buddhist settlement with little interaction with its immediate environment, that it was inscribed with no buffer zone, but rather with just a 'protected' area to the west (ICOMOS 2012, 48). Creation of a buffer zone could be extremely valuable, as it would challenge the ASI to consider the role of local communities, and also other sites in its immediate environs, which recent research shows to have been highly integrated with it (e.g. Shaw 2000).

The ASI reported to UNESCO in 2003 that it was both considering implementation of a buffer zone (see Figure 53 and Figure 54), and also of re-nominating the site to include the additional Buddhist hilltop sites of Satdhara, Sonari, Murelkhurd and Andher, all of which are within 15km of Sanchi (ASI 2003, 7–8). UNESCO concurred with the plans, stating that the "… 4 sites are paramount to reach an understanding of the process which led to Sanchi's uniqueness" (UNESCO 2003b, 66).


Figure 53: The boundaries and proposed buffer zone of the Sanchi World Heritage site (map data from UNESCO 2003b, 67; ASI 1989).


Figure 54: The core and proposed buffer zone boundaries of the Sanchi World Heritage site (image data copyright 2016 Google, map data from UNESCO 2003b, 67; ASI 1989).

The proposal to re-nominate the site has not resurfaced, but in 2012 the ASI made a request to have a slightly enlarged buffer zone approved, in which the prohibited zone (with no building at all allowed) would be wider than initially proposed at 100m around the site, while the regulated zone would extend a further 100m (ICOMOS 2012, 48). This would result in a 127ha total buffer zone, around the 54ha of the core site (ICOMOS 2012, 50). ICOMOS rejected the proposed larger buffer zone however on the grounds that it was not large enough, as urban spread around the site was threatening to disrupt the view from the hilltop, and so it was felt that it should in particular be extended to the north and north-east, to include all of Sanchi village and Khanakera kalan (ICOMOS 2012, 49). No further proposal has been made to date, so the site currently exists with the 2003 proposed boundaries.

According to the 2003 ASI report to UNESCO, there were few problems with restraining development around the core zone:

> "In case of law enforcement, removal of encroachment the help of State Authorities namely District Collector and Superintendent of Police is sought

> and generally received. Municipal corporations in general cooperate in maintaining the rules regarding prohibited/regulated area."
>
> *(ASI 2003, 11–12)*

However this was contradicted by a story in the *Telegraph* in the same year, detailing the way that ASI efforts to have a Jain temple only 30m from the core boundary removed were overruled by the local and state governments:

> "The Archaeological Survey of India had directed the Digvijay Singh government to pull down a Jain temple that had come up close to the stupas, which have been designated World Heritage monument. Union minister of state for culture Bhavnabehn Chikhalia, however, cancelled the order today with an advisory to ASI director-general Kasturi Gupta Menon…
>
> With Jain votes certain to play a decisive role in the poll-bound state, the government was in no mood to oblige the ASI even if it meant snatching the UNESCO-accorded World Heritage status from the stupas..."
>
> *(Kidwai 2003)*

### 5.3.4 The local communities

There are four main villages in and around the proposed buffer zone (see Figure 55). While still known locally by their village names, these settlements have officially become part of Sanchi Town Nagar Panchayat (a designation for a settlement in transition from rural to urban status (Bhagat 2011, 10), and are no longer distinguished from one another in census statistics. Census statistics for all of Sanchi Town together are given below in Table 30.

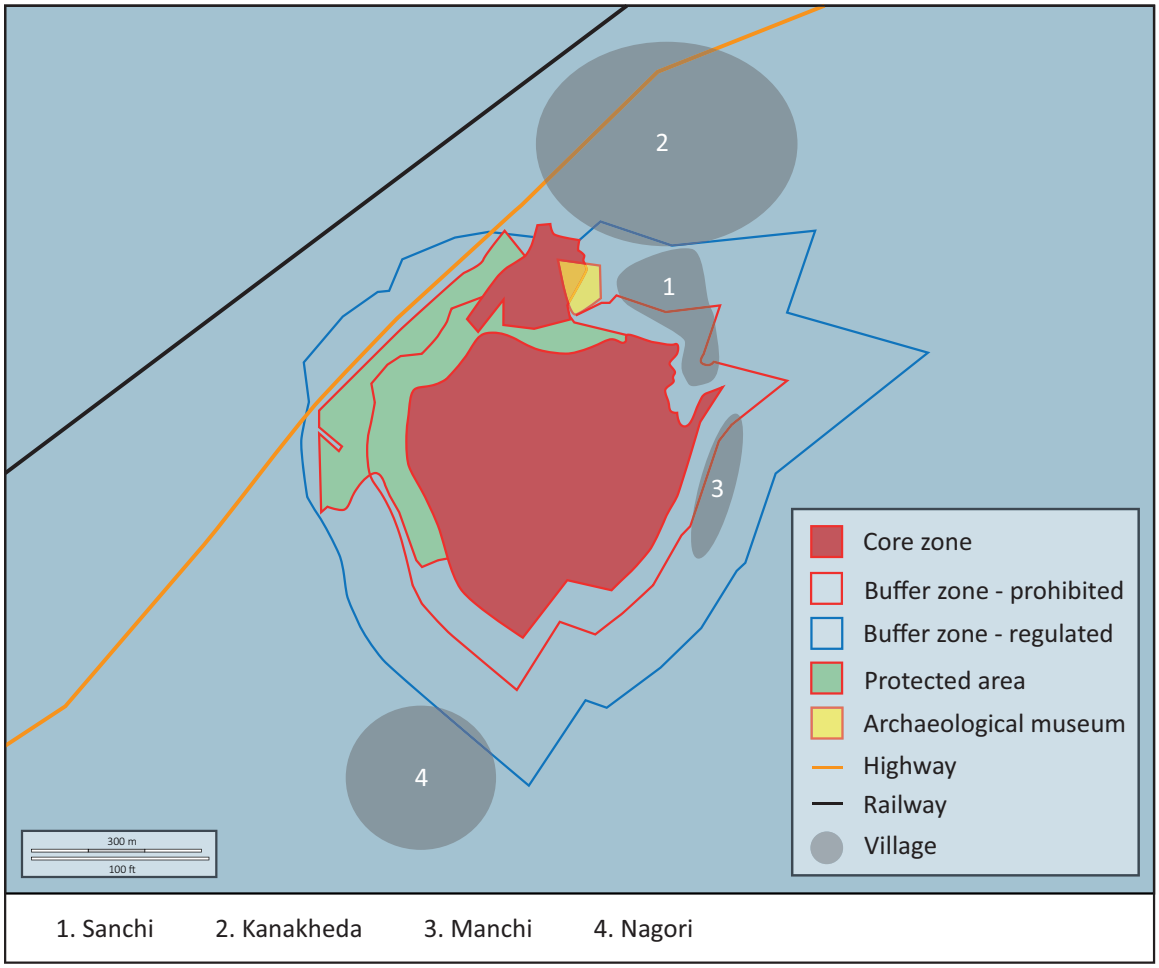



Figure 55: Villages in and around the proposed Sanchi buffer zone (map data from UNESCO 2003b, 67; ASI 1989; ICOMOS 2012, 50)

| Census measure | Sanchi Town (NP) |
|---|---|
| No. households | 1,605 |
| Persons | 8,401 |
| SC members | 27.8% |
| ST members | 2.3% |
| Main workers | 25.3% |
| Marginal workers | 7.3% |
| Non-workers | 67.3% |

Table 30: 2011 census data for Sanchi town (Data derived from DCO MP 2015).

Compared with the rest of Raisen district, Sanchi Town has 10.8% more SC members, and many fewer ST members (2.3% compared to 15.4% for the district), and unemployment is also 6.3% higher than elsewhere in the district, despite the immediate proximity of the World Heritage site (DCO MP 2015, 16).

While the villages of Sanchi and Kanakheda now form a continuous whole, this was not the case in the past:

> "The present village of Sanchi is situated on the low spur connecting the Tope-hill with the Kanakhera-hill. The village is now very small; but the numerous ruins scattered over the hill between Sanchi and Kanakhera prove that there has once been a large town on this site. At the time of Fa Hian's visit it was one of the principle places in the kingdom of Sanakanika."
>
> *(Cunningham 1854, 182)*

The fact that the villages today now fully encompass most of the ruins described by Cunningham, indicates how closely entrenched they are in the landscape that was immediately integral to the site. They should not be seen as somehow separate or as not having been involved in the history of the site.

In the past, Sanchi would have both benefited the local villages by bringing a steady flow of pilgrims their way (Marshall et al. 1940, 2), and also by the establishment of water tanks and dams to serve the monastery in the surrounding area, which would have been mutually beneficial for the local agricultural community (Shaw 2007, 233). Construction of the site would also have involved local labour, in particular as the sandstone that comprises much of the site came from Sanchi hill itself and much of the rest from a quarry at Nagori hill, just 800m to the south (where the current village is located) (Tiwary et al. 2013, 165).

During the colonial period the villages of Sanchi and Khanakeda were in a rather poor state, as contemporary descriptions show:

> "…the few miserable hovels of modern Sanchi, which is forced to join itself to the hamlet of Kanakhera in order to form a village."
>
> *(Rousselet 1882, 433)*

> "…both are poor, squalid little hamlets, and their names, like their habitations, appear to be quite modern."
>
> *(Marshall et al. 1940, 12)*

Today however Sanchi Town is one of the main industrial areas in Raisen, along with Obedullaganj and Bareli (UNDP 2007, 253), and was the focus of a development programme from the Madhya Pradesh government from 1973 to 2011 (Gov. M.P. 1973), though it is still seen as somewhat backward:

> "For all its rich history and culture, Sanchi has highly under-developed surroundings. It remains a small, ordinary village, without a proper bus depot

> or access to schools. There are no auto-rickshaws or horse carriages for transport to the hill on which the famous monument is located."
>
> *(Date 1995, 9)*

Manchi and Nagori villages, to the east and south of the core zone respectively, are primarily agricultural, and not passed by visitors to the World Heritage site.

Unlike Bhimbekta, the core zone of Sanchi is completely fenced off, preventing movement through or access to the site by local people (UNESCO 2003b, 68). The local community can access the site for only 50 paise per visit (ca. half a British penny) (ASI 2001, 2), which seems like a small amount of money but would certainly prohibit regular access, especially in an area with 67% unemployment.

According to early colonial accounts, the site was not being used for religious purposes when 'discovered,' or at least use by any local Buddhist minorities was not recorded. It was noted for example that Maddock and Johnson's plundering of the site in 1822 seemed to encourage the locals to do the same without any special respect for the monuments, and at one point even the pillar of Asoka was broken up by a local zamindar for use as a sugar cane press (ASI 2001, 11). Fell noted that the site was not of interest due to the prevailing religions among the local community:

> "… the monument is of a nature which prevents the orthodox Hindu from visiting it, and the Jainas, as well as every other class, have become totally indifferent regarding it."
>
> *(Fell 1834, 390)*

Similarly Rousselet claimed that **"**the present inhabitants have not preserved any tradition connected with the existence of the monastery itself" (Rousselet 1882, 433). Rousselet was however not naturally interested in the local community, whom he seems to have automatically disdained and disregarded, for example quite happily ordering a brutal flogging for an incident of petty theft (Rousselet 1882, 441).

However Cunningham did note elements of cultural continuity between the practices depicted in the sculptures and modern life:

> "The worship of the tree which occurs so frequently among these sculptures has left its traces in the regard still paid by Jains and Hindoos to the Burr and Peepul trees…"
>
> *(Cunningham 1847, 753)*

There was in fact a Buddhist presence among the community during the colonial era, even though a somewhat suppressed one. Despite complaints that the local Muslim caretaker was not protecting the site adequately, the Begum refused to allow local Buddhist chowdikars to be employed at the site, fearing that this might lead to its religious use being restarted (Russell 1906). Buddhist villagers were still seen in the 1960's, when a visitor observed "a saffron-robed monk and a bullock-drawn cart" while on her way up the hill (Grilli 1962, 8).

Today, the monuments themselves are not actively used as temples for worship, but the World Heritage site has been made indirectly active in this regard with the addition of the Chetiyagiri *vihara* on site that houses the relics, attended by monks and a 'high priest of the temple' (ToI 1967, 7) and there is also a Sri Lankan Mahabhodi temple in Sanchi village.

The surveys carried out in this case study will attempt to assess the degree to which the site is important for the local villages. While the archaeological work at Sanchi has resulted in "the consecration of the monument as both an Indian national and a world Buddhist inheritance" (Guha-Thakurta 2013, 92), it is interesting to ask whether this has affected the local inheritance.

### 5.3.5 Tourism

Once they began to be excavated and publicised, the monuments at Sanchi became a popular tourist destination almost immediately, with Indian as well as colonial visitors:

> "In past times Natives associated excavations with destruction, the search after valuables and removal of sculptures. So long as they thus understood our proceedings, they saw no harm in carrying away temples for building purposes themselves.
>
> No sooner, however, did Government adopt the *in situ* principle than a very different interest was awakened. Men from long distances visited Gwalior and Sanchi in thousands and seemed much pleased with the work."
>
> *(Keith 1885)*

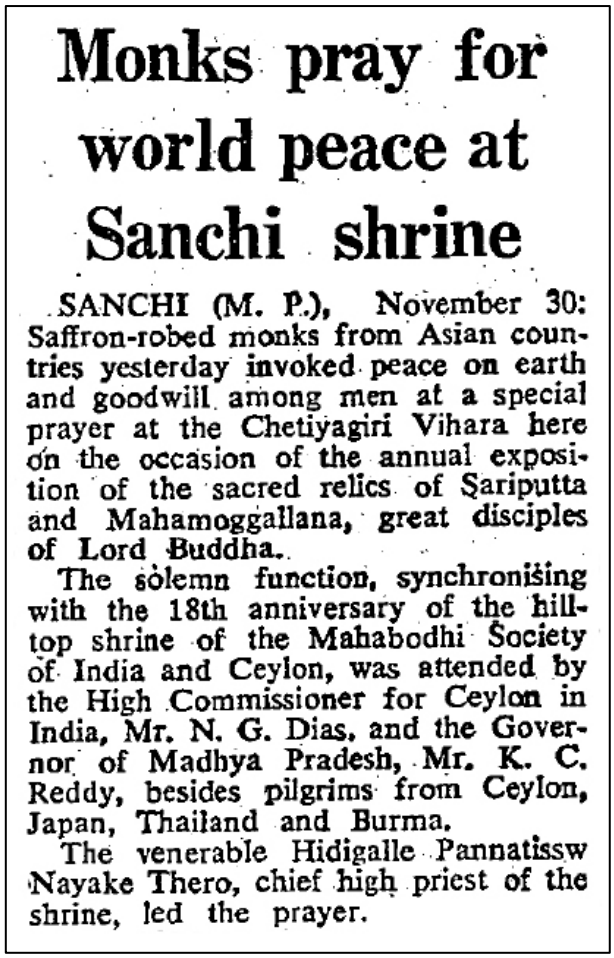
Importantly, there was already a railway station at the site in 1902 (Burgess 1902, 29), and this ensured that the site continued to "… attract a considerable number of visitors from Europe and all parts of India" (Russell 1906), which it has done ever since. In a letter to the editor of the *Times of India* in 1926, a disgruntled traveller noted that "The G.I.P. Railway is very widely advertising the monuments at Sanchi (in Bhopal State) as one of

the finest places for a tour (and undoubtedly they are so)" but complained about the lack of facilities at the station (Vakil 1926, 17).

The station is less than 1km from the World Heritage site (ASI 2001, 1), and well connected to both Bhopal and Vidisha, while as with Bhimbetka the main airport is Bhopal with domestic connections only (Gov. India 2011k, 201). There is a range of accommodation available, including a rest house from the tourism department, a Buddhist *dharma-sala,* and private hotels (ASI 2001, 2–3). This not only reflects the popularity of the site but encourages stopovers by bus tours and international tourists.

8% of visitors to Sanchi are foreign (Gov. India 2011k, 204) and the site is the third most popular destination for foreigners in the state (Datamation Cons. 2013, 71), mainly due to large numbers of religious tourists from Sri Lanka and South-East Asia.

Not long after independence Sanchi had already taken on an important symbolic role in world Buddhism, and began attracting religious tourists for large Buddhist meetings, including pilgrims, academics and heads of state, including the Chetiyagiri *vihara* festival held at the site every November (see Figure 56). Around the time of the festival the relics are put on display for pilgrims in the *vihara* for several months, and are then stored in a secure chamber for the rest of the year (ToI 1952a, 3).



# Monks pray for world peace at Sanchi shrine

SANCHI (M. P.), November 30: Saffron-robed monks from Asian countries yesterday invoked peace on earth and goodwill among men at a special prayer at the Chetiyagiri Vihara here on the occasion of the annual exposition of the sacred relics of Sariputta and Mahamoggallana, great disciples of Lord Buddha.

The solemn function, synchronising with the 18th anniversary of the hill-top shrine of the Mahabodhi Society of India and Ceylon, was attended by the High Commissioner for Ceylon in India, Mr. N. G. Dias, and the Governor of Madhya Pradesh, Mr. K. C. Reddy, besides pilgrims from Ceylon, Japan, Thailand and Burma.

The venerable Hidigalle Pannatissw Nayake Thero, chief high priest of the shrine, led the prayer.

Figure 56: Excerpt of a *Times of India* article from 1970 describing the visitors to the annual Chetiyagiri *vihara* festival (ToI 1970, 15).

Sanchi is particularly important for Sri Lankan Buddhists, as it was from there that the Prince Mahendra went to Sri Lanka to preach, establishing the religion there (ToI 1976b, 5).

Figure 57 shows the steady increase in visitor numbers over a forty-year period, from 1964 to 2004, including a small spike in visitors in the year following World Heritage listing.

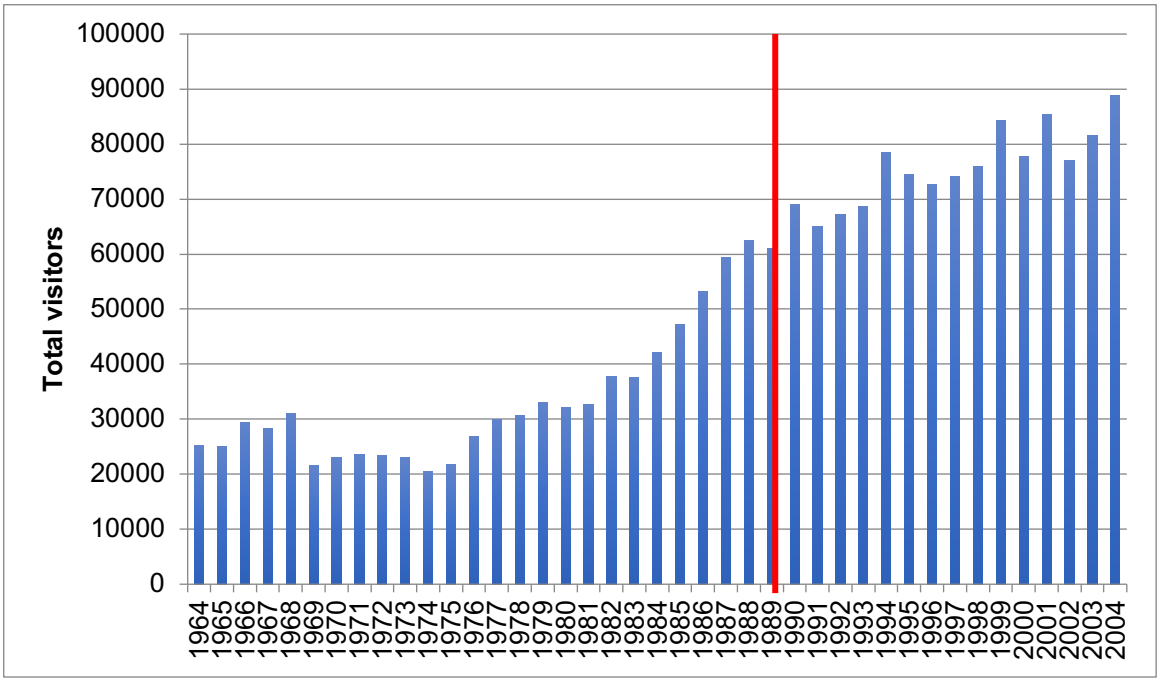



Figure 57: Sanchi visitor statistics for 1964-2004, the red line indicates inclusion on the World Heritage List (data from ASI 2003, 77; UNDP 2007, 341).

While these visitor numbers are close to double those of Bhimbetka, they are still only around 10% of the most popular tourist destination in the state, Chitrakoot Falls (Gov. India 2011k, 204).

### 5.3.6 Site-specific approach

Two sets of questionnaire surveys were conducted at the site as described in chapter 4. The local residents survey was conducted in the following four villages in and around the buffer zone: Sanchi, Kanakheda, Manchi, and Nagori.

## 5.4 Case study three: Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park

### 5.4.1 Introduction

Champaner-Pavagadh is located 40km northeast of Vadodara (Baroda), 35km south of Godhra, and 125km southeast of Ahmedabad, in the Halol *taluka* (equivalent to the *tehsils* of Madhya Pradesh) of Panchmahals district (see Figure 58). As the double-barrelled name suggests, this is really two sites in one. Pavagadh Hill, the only high ground of significance in Panchmahals, is actually a mountain of volcanic origin, part of the western Deccan Traps, which rises 829m above sea level and 700m above the surrounding plains (Sheth et al. 2008, 6) (and see Figure 58). The site of Champaner occupies 6km$^2$ of the plains around 1.5km to the south (Sonawane 2009, 68).

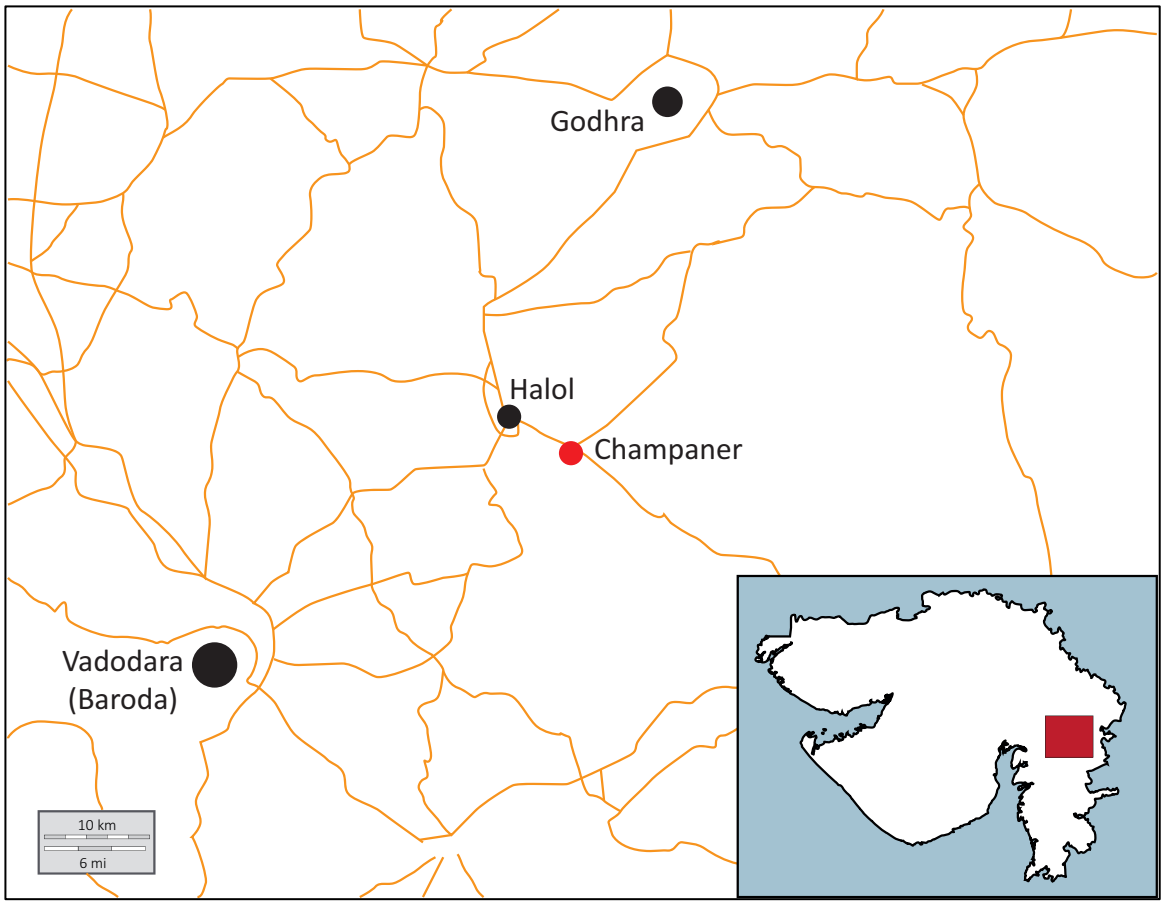



Figure 58: Map showing the location of Champaner-Pavagadh in Gujarat

Figure 59: Pavagadh Hill

Pavagadh Hill, the site of a heavily fortified early Hindu capital, contains multiple temples that attract over 2 million visitors per year (Sinha et al. 2009, 209). As James Campbell noted in 1879, “The history of the Panch Maháls centres in the city of Chámpáner” (Campbell 1879, 252). The ASI guidebook describes Champaner as “… a magnificent example of a pre-Mughal township. Its elegant monuments stand testimony to the harmonious synthesis of the local tradition of ornamentation and Islamic building traditions” (Shivananda et al. 2009, 5). The contemporary relevance of the site is well summed up in this quote from an article in the news magazine *Outlook:*

> “Embellished alike with Jain and Hindu temple motifs, the mosques and maqbaras here speak eloquently of a cultural pluralism and tolerance missing in today's communally polarised Gujarat.”
>
> *(Puri 2007)*

The two sites are connected not only by proximity, but historically and culturally in terms of local building and artisanal traditions (Ruggles et al. 2009, 89), and by a shared hydrological system whereby the runoff from the hill supplied intensive waterworks in the town and its surrounding area (Westcoat 2007, 55).

There are very many conflicting theories regarding the names of both sites, but the most likely are that Champaner is either derived from the champaka flower, whose colour is similar to the reddish tinge of the site’s monuments, or to an earlier Bhil headman named Champa, while Pavagadh is a deviation of either Pavakgadh” – “fire hill”, or “Pavangadh” – “wind hill”, both of which are fully appropriate (Shivananda et al. 2009, 10–12).

There is evidence for habitation of the site and local area stretching back approximately 200,000 years to the Lower Palaeolithic (Sonawane 1984). This is followed by archaeological evidence throughout the area indicating influence, if not habitation by the Kshatrapas, Maitrakas, Gurjara Pratiharas and Rashtrakutas from the 1st to the 10th centuries CE (Sonawane 2009, 69). During the 10th to 12th centuries Hindu and Jain temples constructed on Pavagadh Hill indicate the likely influence of the Parmaras and the Chalukyas (Sonawane 2009, 69).

The first historically documented occupation of Pavagadh is by the Chauhan Rajputs, who occupied the site for 184 years from 1300 CE (Shivananda et al. 2009, 13). The Chauhans were overthrown by Sultan Mahmud Begada in 1484 after a 20 month siege, during which time Begada began construction of a mosque on the plain below in order to show his intent of staying (Watson 1877, 4). Once the battle was won, he then continued building on the site and established his capital there, where it remained for the next 50 years as the flourishing city for which Champaner is famous today.

The Mughals then captured the site during the reign of Akbar and transferred the capital back to Ahmedabad, after which the site remained largely abandoned during administration of the region by the Mughals, Marathas, the princely Gwalior State, and finally the British (Burgess 1896, 40). Musing on the lessons to be learned from the site in 1902, a *Times of India* correspondent probably did not realise how prescient he was:

> "The gallant Sultan and his followers have long passed into the dust of oblivion. Few of us in the present have even heard his name. Will the day come when the British rule will also be a memory of the past? The future alone can solve the problem: but it is worth while to study the fate of great kingdoms among the scenes of their ancient glories, if by doing so we can, even to an infinitesimal extent, help in retarding the decay of our own."
>
> *(ToI 1902b, 4)*

The history of the site is summarised in Table 31.

| Dates | Authority / occupants | Reference |
|---|---|---|
| **BCE** | | |
| Ca. 200,000-1000 | Prehistoric occupation, Lower Palaeolithic to Mesolithic | (Sonawane 1984) |
| **CE** | | |
| 1st-4th C | Probable Kshatrapa influence | (Sonawane 2009, 69) |
| 5th-7th C | Probable Maitraka influence | (Sonawane 2009, 69) |
| 8th-10th C | Probable Gurjara Pratihara and Rashtrakuta influence | (Sonawane 2009, 69) |
| 10th-11th C | Probable Parmara influence | (Sonawane 2009, 69) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 11th-12th C | Probable Chaulukya influence | (Sonawane 2009, 69) |
| 1300 - 1484 | Chauhan Rajputs / tribe | (Shivananda et al. 2009, 13) |
| 1484 - 1534 | Gujarat Sultanate (Mahmud Begada and Bhadur Shah) | (Shivananda et al. 2009, 13) |
| 1536-18th C | Mughals | (Rajyagor 1988, 238) |
| 18th-19th C | Marathas | (Keay 2010, 413) |
| 1803-1804 | British | (Burgess 1896, 40) |
| 1804-1853 | Gwalior State (Sindhias) | (Burgess 1896, 40) |
| 1853- | British | (Burgess 1896, 40) |

Table 31: Known occupation and authority at Champaner-Pavagadh.

The scale of Pavagadh hill is apparent in the notes of an 1803 visit of William Miles, who wrote that it was "… visible from the minaret of the Juma Musjid of Ahmedabad, which is distant from it at least sixty miles" (Miles 1819, 150), and in 1977 Watson confirmed its status as "incomparably the strongest" of all the forts in 'Rajputana' (Watson 1877, 1).

Miles went on to describe the state in which he found Champaner when visiting Pavagadh:

> "At the foot of it to the northward are the remains of an ancient city, the ruins of which extend several miles on each side of the mountain, but are at present covered with a jungle almost impenetrable: houses, temples, beautiful tanks, and even mosques abound in these woods, and are now the abode of tigers and a few Bheels, the latter very thinly scattered."
>
> *(Miles 1819, 150–151)*

The wilderness to which the site had been reduced was reflected in the fact that the Frenchman Rousselet was more interested in tiger hunting when he visited, but he did make the following observations in 1882:

> "We were encamped a short distance from the lofty walls of the ancient city, whose circumference is about twelve miles. Within, there is merely a thick forest, with ruins scattered here and there; a few beautiful Mahometan minarets rearing their high towers above the jungle, and broken walls in various places marking the sites of the ancient palaces."
>
> *(Rousselet 1882, 113–114)*

In 1891, the Baroda Durbar wrote to the agent of the Governor-General to offer to cover half the cost of a survey of his territory, including the site (Manibhai 1891). This was carried out by Burgess in 1885, who again noted the fact that there was little habitation or use of the monuments (Burgess 1885, 137). Returning five years later, he noted that the site was continuing to deteriorate, both due to natural causes, local building and the now familiar activities of government engineers:

> "As already stated, the whole site of Châmpânir has for long been all but entirely deserted, and the mosques and tombs have suffered by the destructive influences of climate and vegetation. Trees taking root in their roofs and domes and dislodging the stones till they fall down and the structures become ruins. Nor have they been left to such influences alone. The stones have been carried off for buildings and for road repairs."
>
> *(Burgess 1896, 43)*

In addition to the Bhils noted by Miles, at least two other tribal groups have been present during the site's history. The first recorded inhabitants of the site were the Chauhans, present during the 12th century CE (Kulke & Rothermund 2004, 117), who were often classed as a tribe, for example by Watson:

> "In the Chohun annals Pawagadh occupied a prominent place… Pawagadh, therefore together with Banthambhor and Jhllor, is one of the sacred places in the legends of the tribe, and shines out prominently in the history of this gallant race, and its memory is fondly cherished by all Chohans, and especially by the houses of Chota Udayapnr and Devugadh Baria, who are of the branch called Pawapati, or lords of Pawa."
>
> *(Watson 1877, 9)*

The Koli tribe were also present throughout the Mughal period, and were central to at least one important episode in the site's history in around 1540 CE:

> "… Humáyun marched on Chámpáner, whither Sultán Bahádur had fled on his way to Cambay and Diu. Chámpáner had been left in charge of trusted officers, who defended the fort with valour. At last, however, some Kolis, foolishly sent out to procure provisions, the fort still containing plenty of grain, fell into Humáyun's hands, and in order to save their lives, showed him a path not known either to the besiegers or to the besieged. By this the troops entered, and succeeded in taking Chámpáner, which might otherwise have held out for a much longer time…"
>
> *(Dosábhai 1894, 120)*

The Kolis were still significant in 1879, being described in the *Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency* as follows:

> "The Koli element in the population of the district is important. They form the largest tribe or caste with a total strength of 281,252 or 35.93 per cent of the entire population."
>
> *(Campbell 1879, 32)*

The 1872 census revealed a population of 25,926 people in Halol taluka, 79% of whom were tribal. They included 14,055 Kolis (54%), 4,518 Naikdas (17%) and 1,838 Bhils (7%) (Campbell 1879, 226). In 1877, the Talavia tribe also apparently attempted to colonise Champaner, but was largely unsuccessful (Campbell 1879, 228–229).

As shown earlier (see Figure 27) however, Bhils are still present in Panch Mahals in large numbers, with 429,244 recorded as resident in the 2011 census (Gov. India 2011b). Kolis no longer appear in large numbers as tribal, but this seems largely to be due to social mobility. A large number of disadvantaged groups in Gujarat sought recategorisation as Kshatriyas following independence (Srinivas 1969, 38), and the result is that while one small Koli group in the state are listed as a ST (Gov. India 2011f, 1), a further nine groups are listed under Other Backward Classes (OBC) instead (NCBC 2011, 2–3).

The percentage of population who still identified as tribal in the case study communities in the 2011 census is nonetheless still significant. For Halol town the number of ST residents is given as 7,101, or 11%, while for Champaner village the number is 837, as high as 28% (Gov. India 2011f).

Despite this, the majority of modern scholars have either ignored or been dismissive of the local tribal population and their connections to the site. This ranges from UNESCO's sole note that "there are some nomadic, grazer groups in the area" (UNESCO 2004a, 27), to denying that they even inhabit the region (Ahmad 1982, 327).

Efforts to conserve Champaner-Pavagadh began in 1901, not with the ASI, but with a meeting "… of the leading bankers, merchants and gentry of Ahmedabad", who formed a committee for the purpose (ToI 1901, 3). The committee looked not only at conserving the monuments on the site, but also planned to relocate the village to a new location nearby, in order to avoid the site being spoiled should buildings otherwise be "allowed to spring up hugger-mugger" (ToI 1902a, 8). This was not only to protect the site, but also out of genuine concern for the local community, which was prone to serious health problems:

> "If the sites are first marked out by an expert Sanitary Engineer, and the buildings are allowed to be put up only under his orders and in accordance with standard plans, the new settlement should prove a most healthy residential neighbourhood, and probably immune to plague."
>
> *(ToI 1902a, 8)*

### 5.4.2 Archaeological investigations at Champaner-Pavagadh

Despite having being inscribed as a World Heritage site because of its archaeology but with the majority of the site still buried, Champaner-Pavagadh has still only been partly excavated, and those areas that were dug were reburied without being fully published. All of the excavations were undertaken by teams under Professor R.N. Mehta of the M.S. University of Baroda, from 1969-1976 (see Table 32). In comparison to Bhimbetka and Sanchi, the ASI has undertaken only conservation work at Champaner-Pavagadh.

| Dates | Investigation details | Reference |
|---|---|---|
| 1969-70 | Initial explorations by R.N. Mehta | (Lal 1973, 7) |
| 1970-71 | Excavations by R.N. Mehta | (Deshpande 1974, 15) |
| 1971-72 | Excavations by R.N. Mehta | (Deshpande 1975b, 21) |
| 1972-73 | Excavation by R.N. Mehta | (Deshpande 1978, 11–12) |
| 1974-75 | Excavation by R.N. Mehta | (Thapar 1979a, 14–15) |
| 1975-76 | Excavation by R.N. Mehta | (Thapar 1979b, 14–15) |

Table 32: Recorded excavations at Champaner-Pavagadh.

R.N. Mehta's work at Champaner began in the 1969-70 season with exploration work, which mapped out the main areas of the city, including nine gates, with roads meeting near the royal enclosure, which was found to include palaces, gardens and mosques (Lal 1973, 7). They found that the city was well planned, with an elaborate water supply system (Ahmad 1982, 289) and essentially round with concentric fortifications and the royal enclosure at the centre (Sonawane 2009, 70).

In addition to the main site, Mehta's team also discovered early and middle Palaeolithic tools along the banks of the nearby river Jorwan (Lal 1973, 7). These tools have subsequently been claimed as evidence of habitation of the area dating back at least 200,000 years (Sonawane 1984, 20).

Excavations at Champaner began during the 1970-71 season, making it was among the first medieval sites to be dug in India (Sonawane 2009, 68). Mehta uncovered the street plan and habitation pattern, as well as evidence of mines, a military base and country villas within 8km of the city (Deshpande 1974, 15), extending as far as today's Halol town (Sonawane 2009, 71). In the following year the team traced additional fortifications and located their gates, as well as exposing buildings within the palace complex (Deshpande 1975a, 21).

During the 1972-73 season nine houses and a "large structure complex" were uncovered in one area, and a "large residential complex" in another, including water tanks and channels (Deshpande 1978, 11–12). The excavations produced a large amount of artefacts as well, the more spectacular and enigmatic of which were described in a *Times of India* article, including "Chinese pottery, armoured elephant tusks, Hindu sculptures and masonic catapults" (ToI 1972, 3).

Additional features excavated in 1974-75 comprised a residential area, garden complex, water features such as tanks, latrines, and stables (Thapar 1979a, 14–15), while finally

during the 1975-76 season the outer compound of the residential complex was uncovered, exposing shops and workshops (Thapar 1979b, 14–15).

In addition to the above elements, several features of the site bearing evidence of religious and cultural tolerance were also discovered. An inscription discovered in a step-well in one of the suburbs, written in a mixture of Sanskrit and medieval Gujarati, included an invocation of both Ganesha and Sharada for example (Sonawane 2009, 79). A Christian church was also uncovered, which would have operated contemporaneously with the mosques on the site (Mehta 1977, 111), and is thought to have been for the use of Portuguese prisoners (Mahurkar 1988).

Unfortunately all of Mehta's excavations were reburied "due to lack of resources for maintaining the building remains for public viewing" (Sinha et al. 2009, 211). The majority of the site has not been excavated at all (Shivananda et al. 2009, 6), estimated to account for at least 95% of the remains (Puri 2007). One of the justifications for inscription was thus that the site was "partly buried, unexplored and untouched" (UNESCO 2004a, 26). It is a shame however that despite having been at least partly excavated, almost none of the excavations are either visible to the public, nor have the results been published.

The ASI is present at Champaner with around 20 officers, but their commitment has been rather aptly described as "half-hearted" (Mahurkar 1988). Offering no research initiative regarding the site, the ASI protects 36 of the listed heritage structures (Sinha et al. 2009, 215), but has otherwise very little presence compared to the state archaeology, forest, and irrigation departments (Westcoat 2007, 63). It has even been reported in the media that Mehta's excavation programme was abandoned because of disagreements with the ASI (Mahurkar 1988). This was mirrored by my experience, and in comparison to Bhimbetka and Sanchi, I was forced to conduct my research at Champaner without the support of the ASI.

The Forestry Department rather than the ASI manages 93% of the land on which the site is located (Sinha et al. 2009, 220). This is obviously problematic for the archaeology as its protection is not that department's primary concern, and in the 1980s the forest department was in fact found to be actively destroying the site by using stones from the ruins to build a wall (Mahurkar 1988).

The state government's incentivization of industry in areas such as Champaner which are classed as 'backward' has also been a problem. The state licensed quarrying at Champaner in 1990 for example (Dharker 1995), which resulted in over 70 quarries

distributed across the Pavagadh hillside, operating with high explosives for over a decade (DLAUIUC 2001, 4). Similarly there were plans to build a hydrofluoric acid plant in already industrialized Halol, with the potential of pollution affecting the nearby monuments (ToI 1988).

### 5.4.3 The World Heritage site

The inscription of Sanchi on the World Heritage List was also not initiated by the ASI, but rather due to concern for the deterioration of the site by the Heritage Trust of Baroda. As part of their agitation they first managed to have the site registered on the 2000 World Monuments Watch "…in response to concerns about new construction encroaching on the site, industrial pollution, and harmful blasting in nearby quarries" (WMF 2016).

Without the Trust's efforts Champaner-Pavagadh would likely never have been adequately safeguarded, but because they are not an organisation focused primarily on archaeology, their approach meant that the site has not been protected or developed in the way it would be if an organisation such as the ASI had been leading efforts. Instead all planning for the site has been done from an architectural perspective, whereby the original function, heritage and context of the site has not been a major focus.

The first step in this process was a report which recommended that the site become an 'archaeological park' (Thakur 1987), defined as follows:

> "An Archaeological Park can be termed as a definable area, distinguished by heritage resources and land related to such resources, that has potential to become an interpretive, educational and recreational resource for the public. Though the first priority is the built and archaeological heritage, ecological and landscape aspects are not excluded. This is a way of protecting heritage resources that also ensures protection for underground structures until the resources are found to excavate them. The integrity and authenticity of the site rests within the entirety of the park itself, which is yet to be rediscovered."
>
> *(Thakur 2004, 397)*

This initially reasonably balanced vision for Champaner was further developed in the next step, when an architect at the Trust invited the Department of Landscape Architecture at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign to design a Landscape Management Plan (LMP) (as opposed to a heritage management plan) for the site (Westcoat 2007, 55), once again without any involvement of the ASI. The plan was produced by researchers with no prior knowledge of the site through a ten day workshop at Champaner, followed by an eight week 'design studio' with students in Urbana Champaign (DLAUIUC 2001, 3).

The resulting LMP was far from appropriate for an archaeological site, let alone a World Heritage site. It effectively took Thakur's concept of an archaeological park and removed any emphasis on heritage or education, repeatedly referring to the monuments as 'follies':

> "An archaeological park, in effect creates a picturesque landscape within which the ruins and monuments can be experienced as follies."
>
> *(DLAUIUC 2001, 16)*

> "The astounding monuments can be experienced as spectacular follies in a picturesque, verdant landscape."
>
> *(DLAUIUC 2001, 27)*

When Champaner is described in the LMP, no attempt at comprehending its functional nature is made at all, for example stating that "the site spreads itself out as an architectural dockyard, sprayed with relics from the fifteenth century city" (DLAUIUC 2001, 30).

Many proposals within the LMP are also highly insensitive to the integrity, historical context and conservation of the site. For example the plan recommends the revival of a narrow-gauge railway that had been built over the northeast section of the archaeological site in the 19th century, connecting with manganese mines in nearby Shivrajpur, for the transportation of tourists (DLAUIUC 2001, 26). An even more bizarre proposal is for the construction of a 'solar quarry', which is in no way related to the historical site (DLAUIUC 2001, 27).

The LMP's approach to the local community neither sees them as integral to the site, nor seeks to support their traditional means of living, but simply wants them tidied up and made useful, whereby "… grants/loans should be given to the residents to renovate the facades lining the main street" (DLAUIUC 2001, 23). The plan even proposes making the communities paying tenants of the site:

> "The villagers and tribals living in tiny hamlets should become participants in the economy of the archaeological park. They can be trained as guides and employed in the various construction activities. The landscape management plan proposes sustainable land uses in Champaner – farmfields, orchards, and nurseries – that can be leased to the residents for productive use."
>
> *(DLAUIUC 2001, 23)*

Subsequent planning work published by academics from the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign such as Sinha, Ruggles, Silverman and Westcoat (Sinha 2006; Sinha 2004; Sinha et al. 2009; Ruggles et al. 2009; Silverman et al. 2007; Silverman et al. 2009; Westcoat 2007) attempts to take the landscape approach even further, and is often highly

impractical and even meaningless. This is exemplified in their aims to give the site a 'pastoral look', and an "aesthetic order fulfilling the pragmatics of the visitor's orchestrated movement and modulated experience" (Sinha 2004, 118), or describing the site as "an example of the multivalent nature of the spirit of the place" (Ruggles et al. 2009, 79).

Overall the LMP is a major departure from the initial report by Thakur, who has criticized it heavily:

> "… the design interventions suggested by the students of landscape of Urbana-Champaign will greatly endanger the authenticity and integrity of the World Heritage Site… It is a 'beautification' programme that is not acceptable within heritage management for a vulnerable site… It is even more distressing when, in the name of landscape design, American universities are destroying the archaeological values of one of the greatest archaeological sites in the world."
>
> *(Thakur 2004, 398)*

The LMP has fortunately never been implemented, but it has diverted resources that would have been much better spent on a proper heritage management plan and delayed any proper development and management of the World Heritage site.

In 2001 a survey of the built heritage of the site was published by the People for Heritage Concern organisation, which provides a useful archaeological base map of the entire site (PHC 2001).

Champaner-Pavagadh was nominated for the World Heritage List in 2003 (ToI 2003), the first site from Gujarat to be put forward (Shivananda et al. 2009, 16). The 2004 ICOMOS advisory board evaluation recommended that the nomination be deferred, noting that "… There is no management plan nor a commitment for preparing one… No one authority that can be seen as responsible for the site" (UNESCO 2004a, 28). Based on this report, the UNESCO evaluation was equally negative:

> "It seems from the nomination dossier that there is very little management, no management structure nor clear responsibilities. The dossier is talking of future actions to be taken in this regard, including the nomination of the whole area as an 'archaeological park' with administrative structure, staff and a comprehensive plan. At the moment, in spite of considerable efforts and different plans prepared – there is nothing in place and plans were not implemented."
>
> *(UNESCO 2004a, 27)*

Despite these serious misgivings on the part of both ICOMOS and UNESCO, the nomination was not deferred, and the site was nonetheless inscribed to the list very shortly

afterward in July 2004 (UNESCO 2004b, 29–30). The inscription decision did request that a Management Plan be submitted in 2005 (UNESCO 2004b, 30), but UNESCO *State of Conservation* reports from 2005, 2007, 2009, 2010 and 2011, all noted concern that the Management Plan had not yet been created (UNESCO 2005a; UNESCO 2007; UNESCO 2009; UNESCO 2010; UNESCO 2011).

Champaner-Pavagadh was inscribed under criteria iii, iv, v and vi (UNESCO 2004b, 29).It is noteworthy that in the justification for criterion iii no mention of the current local communities is made. As is described in this chapter, there is evidence for continuity of tribal residence in the area throughout its history. The case study surveys in this thesis seek to find out whether these communities feel that they have a link to the traditions for which the site was inscribed.

The core zone of Champaner-Pavagadh comprises 1,893 ha, and is surrounded by a buffer zone of 2,911.74 ha (ASI et al. 2013, 39) (and see Figure 60 and Figure 61).

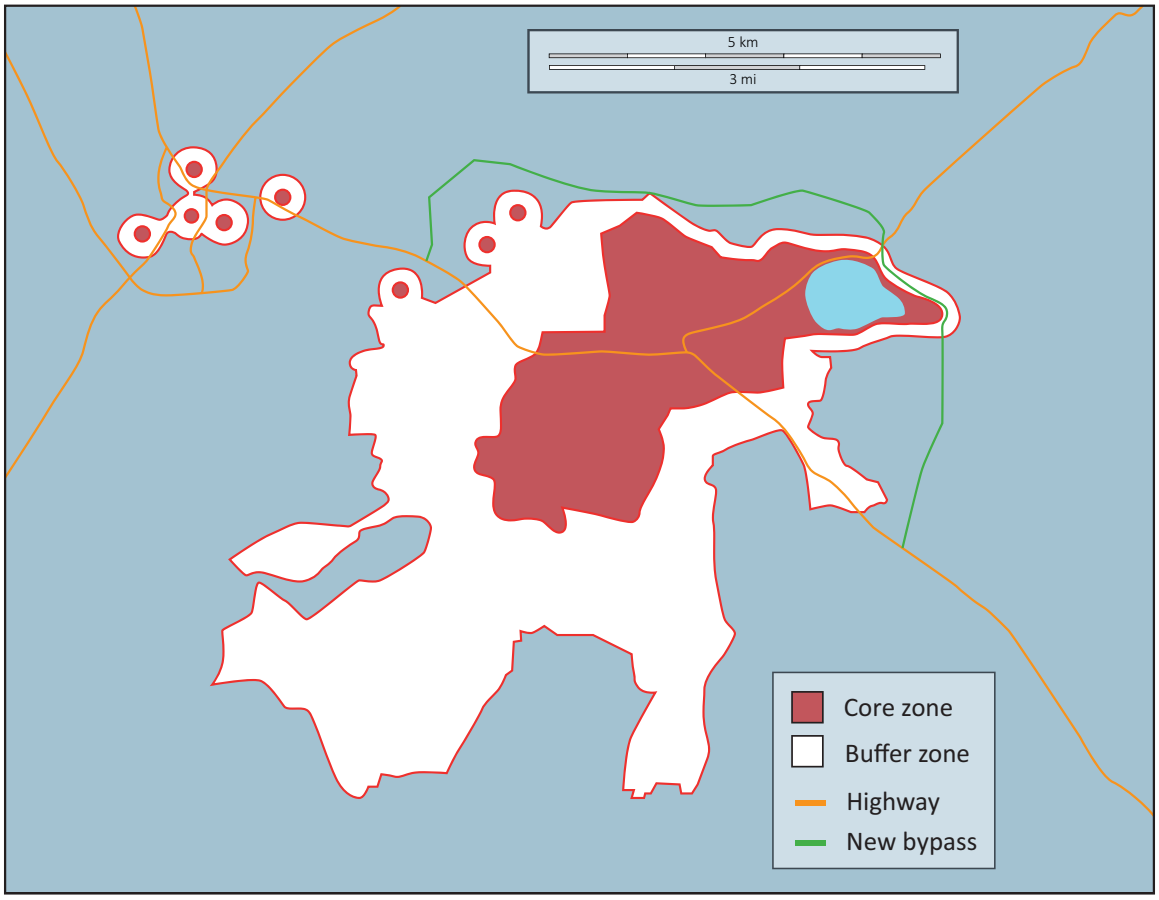



Figure 60: The core and buffer zones at Champaner-Pavagadh (Site boundary data from ASI et al. 2013, 39; road data from Google Maps)

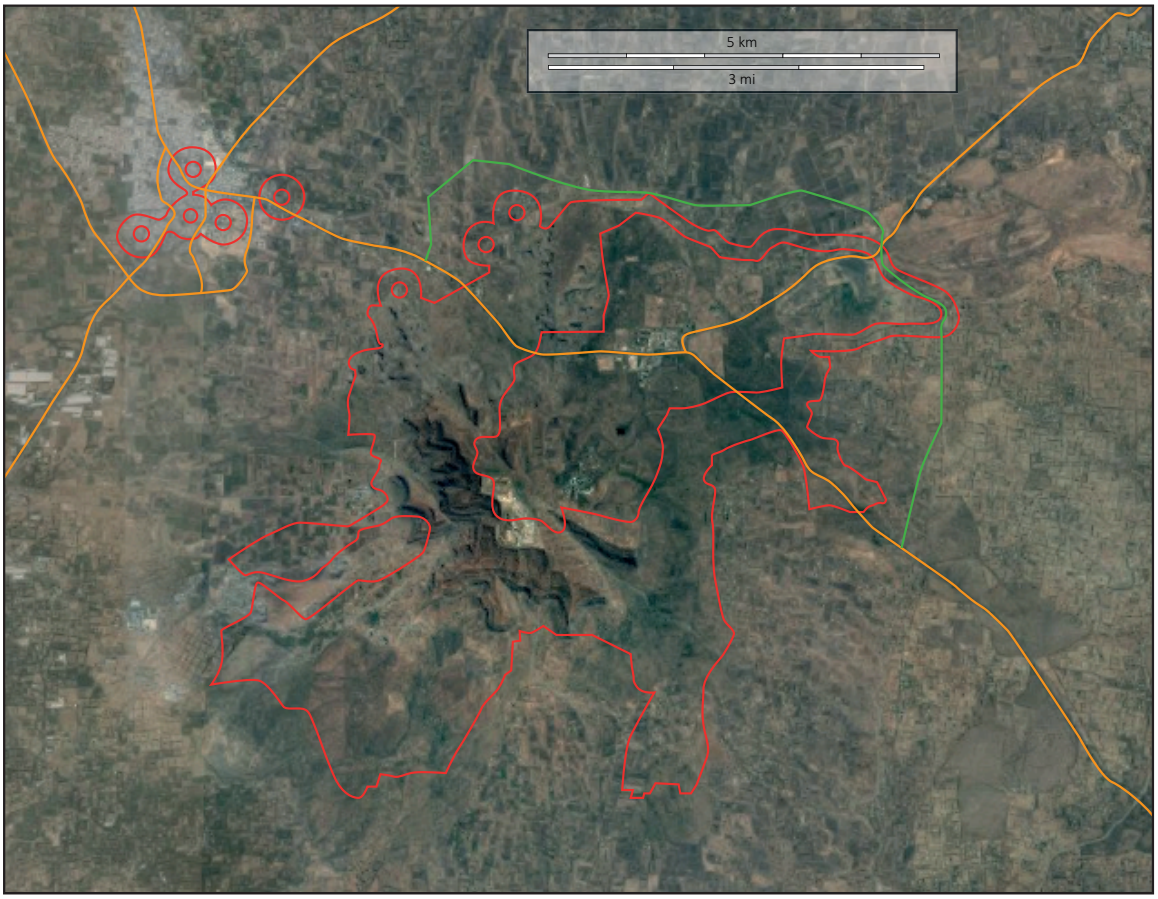



Figure 61: Satellite view of the core and buffer zones at Champaner-Pavagadh (Satellite imagery copyright Google; road data from Google Maps; Site boundary data from ASI et al. 2013, 39).

It is interesting that not all of the land between the main site and Halol town has been included in the buffer zone as the two sites are archaeologically continuous. Halol contained many of the gardens of Champaner, which were still in relatively good condition in 1611 when visited by Sikander:

> "Several of those buildings remain to this day, and that garden is well known and famous, and the people of Gujarát call this garden Hálol."
>
> *(Sikandar 1899, 69)*

And two hundred years later the continuity of the sites was perfectly clear to Miles as well:

> "… the ruins extend, in a like manner covered with jungle, to Hallol, formerly a suburb of Chapaneer, but now four miles from the modern city."
>
> *(Miles 1819, 151)*

In November of 2006, following pressure from UNESCO (Puri 2007), the Government of Gujarat passed the *Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park World Heritage Area Management Authority Act* (Gov. Gujarat 2006). The Act established a body to manage

the site, called the 'Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park World Heritage Area Management Authority' (Gov. Gujarat 2006, §3.1).

Instead of the ASI taking the entire management role for the site as it has at Bhimbetka and Sanchi, in this case the management authority has a 19 person board, of whom only two come from the ASI, and only four are archaeologists, with representatives of the state archaeology department and the M.S. University of Baroda archaeology department also involved (Gov. Gujarat 2006, §4). One notable inclusion is that of the Champaner village *sarpanch* (head), at the end of the list (Gov. Gujarat 2006, §4.xvii), which at least provides some nominal involvement for the local community in decision-making.

Under the Act, the Authority is tasked with producing the Management Plan as well as an undefined 'Development Plan' (Gov. Gujarat 2006, §11.ii), and with monitoring and coordinating any development activity within the site (Gov. Gujarat 2006, §11.ix), or as the State Culture Secretary put it, "at checking unplanned and uncontrolled development of Champaner" (Puri 2007).

The Authority is also required to protect public property within the site (Gov. Gujarat 2006, §11.xi), to 'raise local, regional, national and international awareness about the significance of the World Heritage Site' (Gov. Gujarat 2006, §11.xii), and finally to promote archaeological and historical research on the site (Gov. Gujarat 2006, §11.xiii).

The management plan for Champaner-Pavagadh, compiled jointly by the ASI and the Heritage Trust of Baroda, was finally begun in mid-2007 (CPAPWHAM 2010, meeting date 18 July 2007) and then eventually submitted to UNESCO in 2013 (UNESCO 2013, 197), and has the following stated goals:

> "… to manage and ensure integrated conservation of heritage and natural environments, preservation of historical and cultural identity, also for preventing uncontrolled development, commercial exploitation of the Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park…"
>
> *(ASI et al. 2013, 21)*

Overall the management plan is mainly focused on conservation of the standing monuments, and less on managing visitor flow, archaeological research or local communities. The plan is surprisingly self-assured and immodest, claiming that its strategy "… provides a flawless image of actions to be taken" (ASI et al. 2013, 20), but is in fact far from ideal. It has the following somewhat vague and non-committal aims:

> "… the fundamental philosophy is of minimum intervention with the site, which will take its own course of time for property's holistic conservation without compromising with its authenticity and integrity – a long term strategy."
>
> *(ASI et al. 2013, 18)*

The authors further believe that they have perfectly taken on board the concerns of all stakeholders including the local communities:

> "Since the other aspects of this document are developed and finalized following wider consultation of all stakeholders, both governmental and private, its success is inevitable."
>
> *(ASI et al. 2013, 18)*

As will be seen later, many stakeholders, especially the communities, do not feel this way at all. The plan claims that it will be "… a mechanism to support and supplement the local community in its cultural, social and economic strength" (ASI et al. 2013, 22), and that the community is vital for the management of the site, and an "actual custodian" of it (ASI et al. 2013, 32).

Other than promising a consultation role, the 'Action Plan' section of the document however contains no actions that acknowledge the integral role of the communities within the site, offering only infrastructure that is not related to the World Heritage or traditional ways of life at all, such as a "shopping centre for villagers" and "parks for children and elderly people" (ASI et al. 2013, 58).

Far more appropriate support for the community such as funding and encouraging a resurgence of the silk weaving Champaner was previously famous for as a modern craft industry, as suggested in the media (D'Monte 1988), do not seem to have been considered at all.

### 5.4.4 The local communities

The role of the local communities in the history of the site is not as minimal as made out by most studies or by the management plan, as is recognized in the World Heritage nomination file, which states that at "… Champaner the land, the people and the built heritage are individual components of a complex dynamic process" (UNESCO 2004a, 26).

During its brief heyday in the 15$^{th}$ and 16$^{th}$ centuries, the city of Champaner had possessed a thriving community of around 50,000 people (Sinha et al. 2009, 207), whose diversity may be guessed at from the following description:

> “Merchants and craftsmen thronged its streets, Champaner sword blades became noted for their sharpness, and Champaner silks for their bright colours…. During this time the close connection between Malwa and Gujarat favoured the city's growth and the safety with which their treasures could be stored in its hill fort gave it a special value in the Sultans eyes.”
>
> *(Campbell 1879, 305)*

Following its collapse however, Champaner fell on hard times as described by Sikandar in around 1611, who wrote that the city:

> "... now is the abode of the tiger and lion: its buildings are ruined, its inhabitants have given their property to the winds of destruction, even its waters are poisoned, and its air such that it deprives the human frame of its strength."
>
> *(Sikandar 1899, 68–69)*

When the site was visited by Miles in 1803, he found the town was now inhabited by ‘a tribe of silkweavers’, but also noted that it was in use as a pilgrimage destination:

> “From a Hindu friend of mine who was lately on a pilgrimage to Pavanghudd I learn that at present the town contains about four hundred houses, of which half may be inhabited: the inhabitants are chiefly fugitives from other cities in Guzerat.”
>
> *(Miles 1819, 151)*

Burgess painted a dismal picture of the site and its habitability:

> “In 1812 it contained about 200 inhabited houses, the people being chiefly runaways from Gujurât and a few silk weavers, but the latter were terribly thinned by cholera about 1828. On July 31st, 1853, when it came under British management, the place was almost deserted. An attempt was made to bring in cultivators and clear the forest, but three fourths of the immigrants died and the rest fled. Latterly its only inhabitants are a few Kolis and Naikdâs.”
>
> *(Burgess 1896, 40)*

As in Miles’ and Burgess’ accounts, a constant theme in historical visitors’ descriptions of the town is the presence of tribal people. Campbell also noted this, writing that the site was “at present (1878), except for a few Bhil and Náikda squatters, almost entirely deserted...” (Campbell 1879, 304). While these inhabitants are never attributed any importance by their observers, they are nonetheless present and linked to the site throughout history.

Although nothing like its original size, according to the 2011 census (see Table 33) Champaner has seen a growth of around 300% since 1812, now with 615 households. It was larger in the first half of the 20th century, but lost its ‘urban’ status from the 1961 census

onwards (D'Monte 1988). The tribal population is still significant, with 28.1% qualifying for ST status. With 59.1% unemployment, Champaner is not the thriving place it once was.

| Census measure | Champaner village |
|---|---|
| No. households | 615 |
| Persons | 2979 |
| SC members | 4.1% |
| ST members | 28.1% |
| Main workers | 31.8% |
| Marginal workers | 9.1% |
| Non-workers | 59.1% |

Table 33: 2011 census data for Champaner village (data derived from Gov. India 2011j).

If estimates of the population being 40% farmers are correct, then with only 40.1% employment relatively few people are making a living from the World Heritage site or the pilgrims:

> "About forty percent of Champaner residents are farmers. One comes across small hamlets of people who depend on the forest – its timber for building, twigs for fuel, bamboo for thatching, and for grazing animals."
>
> *(DLAUIUC 2001, 22)*

With around 10 shops, a post office, a bank and two schools (DLAUIUC 2001, 23), the village is also undergoing a surge in the building of services such as hotels to take advantage of the pilgrim traffic to Pavagadh. The royal enclosure is described as "… under real threat of visual obliteration by new buildings mushrooming all over the site to cater to the requirements of the heavy pilgrim traffic" (Sinha 2004, 121), or more colourfully: "… the cultural value of the precinct is gone for a six" (Modi 2008, 177).

There is still a significant degree of communal tension in Champaner, with only eight Muslim families known to have returned following the 2002 riots (Westcoat 2007, 58). This is important to consider when assessing the majority Hindu community members' attitudes to the mainly Muslim archaeology.

The inhabitants of Pavagadh Hill have been included with those of Champaner in the census. Pavagadh has been more or less continuously in use as a pilgrimage site since around the 10$^{th}$ century (Sonawane 2009, 69). The number of people resident on the hill is quite low, partly due to the high winds, which had also deterred the British from building a sanatorium there (Watson 1877, 8).

As with the main village at Champaner, Pavagadh has also experienced a high degree of communalism since 2002, and is no longer a safe place for Muslims:

> "Pavagadh, a village in a pilgrimage site, is strictly off limits. After burning and looting, locals captured Muslim shops. (These shops are located along the route to the temple and have great revenue potential.) They wouldn't let Muslims back into the village, and refugees huddled in rented rooms in nearby Halol town. Some families sent their elders back to look after their homes in Pavagadh, but locals threw stones at their homes and shouted threats at night. Frightened, the seniors returned back to Halol to live with the rest of their family."
>
> *(Bunsha 2006, 86)*

The situation is stirred up by local Hindu residents who belong to the Bajrang Dal, a militant section of the VHP and RSS, as described by one Muslim woman who returned to the village briefly to vote in the 2004 state elections:

> "'The Bajrang Dal boys don't want us back. They can do anything; they could rape us."
>
> *(Bunsha 2006, 196–197)*

The demographic situation is somewhat different in Halol town, which is 7.5 km from Champaner and much larger and more industrial. With one-third the proportion of tribal community members in comparison, it also has less agricultural workers. 2011 census statistics for Halol are given in Table 34.

| Census measure | Halol town |
|---|---|
| No. households | 14053 |
| Persons | 64265 |
| SC members | 3.0% |
| ST members | 11.0% |
| Main workers | 31.4% |
| Marginal workers | 1.7% |
| Non-workers | 67.0% |

Table 34: 2011 census data for Halol town (data derived from Gov. India 2011j).

According to the periodic report on Champaner Pavagadh supplied to UNESCO by the Authority in 2012, the "awareness and understanding of the existence and justification for inscription of the World Heritage property" among the local communities, local indigenous peoples and local landowners was recorded as "excellent" for all of these groups (UNESCO 2012, 9). This is however contradicted by observations of local community members by Sinha and Sharma, who claim that:

> "They appear to have little or no interest in history that heritage structures embody, nor do they have a clear sense of historical time and space encompassed in the ruins."
>
> *(Sinha et al. 2009, 209)*

Both of these commentators have an invested interest in making their case – the Authority arguing that it is doing a good job, and the landscape architects arguing that the communities are separate from the site and do not need to be taken into account when planning its redesign and management. The case studies in this thesis seek to directly sample the opinions of the communities in this regard.

Other than bestowing "awareness and understanding" on the local people, the site can of course have more material benefits. Once again, according to the 2012 periodic report, in response to the question "does the World Heritage property provide economic benefits to local communities (e.g. income, employment)?", the report states that "there is a major flow of economic benefits to local communities from activities in and around the World Heritage Property" (UNESCO 2012, 8).

In terms of generating local employment, the gains seem largely yet to be made. According to the meeting minutes of the Authority, in 2007 the tourism department reported that it had trained 150 local guides and issued them with identity cards. Several months later it was reported that the ASI was disputing the recognition of the guides however, so they were unable to begin employment (CPAPWHAM 2010, meeting dates 23 March 2007 and 18 June 2007), and it is not clear that they have done so since. If anything, the site has increased unemployment, as the 70 quarries that have been shut down had employed around 6,000 people, and while most of these came from outside the area, a still not insignificant number of villagers would also have found work there (D'Monte 1988).

Equally importantly, the World Heritage site has a direct impact on the ability of local people to operate and grow their businesses. At the extreme end of policy, the Department of Landscape Architecture at Urbana-Champaign recommended a complete moratorium on further building (DLAUIUC 2001, 23), and Sinha and Sharma described the merchants who operated along the Pavagadh Hill pilgrim path as "permanent unlawful tenants" (Sinha et al. 2009, 209).

In the end, the Authority and ASI have adopted a slightly less blanket policy, instead serving notice on construction deemed to be illegal with regard to zoning restrictions, but allowing appeals. According to local media, by 2007 this has resulted in 27 denial or

removal notices being issued, but three proposed constructions being allowed to proceed (Khan 2007).

Within two years, a much more extensive action against existing and new "encroachments" was underway:

> On encroachment, the Vice-Chairman and Secretary, Sports, Youth and Culture, informed that out of 116 encroachments, 65 encroachments have been removed by the Collector, Godhra, and that 51 cases of encroachment are pending. It was further informed that some of the cases are sub-judice as the owners have approached to the court."
>
> *(CPAPWHAM 2010, meeting date 07 August 2009)*

By December of that year, the level of action had further accelerated with the result that:

> "… a total number of 304 encroachments had been removed by the District authority, and about 372 encroachments yet remained to be removed."
>
> *(CPAPWHAM 2010, meeting date 17 December 2009)*

In a village with only 615 households, it is obvious that removing or displacing this number of businesses will have a significant impact on the community. When asked in the 2012 periodic report to rate the cooperation and relationship between the Authority and the local communities, indigenous peoples and landowners, the Authority responded that this was "good" for all groups. It also stated that the local communities "directly participate in all relevant decisions relating to management, i.e. co-management", with regard to "decisions that maintain the Outstanding Universal Value" of the site (UNESCO 2012, 7). Where "co-management" seems to imply an equal say in decision-making, the disparity here between actions and words is starkly apparent, as it is highly improbable that the community would freely decide to act against their own members to such a degree.

Villagers interviewed by Sinha at the time of inscription in 2004 were already uneasy about the situation:

> "They had mixed feelings about the prospects of future development – agreeing that it will benefit them economically but also expressing concern that their illegal ownership of land may cause them to be evicted when a master plan is implemented. They faced difficulties such as lack of adequate and clean water, medical dispensary, and primary school."
>
> *(Sinha 2006, 102)*

Note that the term 'illegal ownership of land' is the researcher's own and does not necessarily reflect traditional ownership systems and statuses.

In 2007 Westcoat noted that concern over possible displacement due to the inscription was still present (Westcoat 2007, 70). A reporter also recorded the views of village leaders, which indicated that things were not going smoothly:

> "Over tea, we hear a diatribe against Champaner's World Heritage status from sarpanch Kirtida Pandya and her deputy, Mahendra Shah, in which both trust and government come in for flak…. The sore points for the 'anti-heritage' camp are restrictions against construction in the protected zone, lack of local consultation, and the communally tinged complaint that Muslim monuments are getting more attention than the Kalika Mata temple and the pilgrimage route. The subtext seems to be that these villagers, who live off the pilgrimage, are yet to see, or be persuaded about, the tangible benefits from heritage conservation."
>
> *(Puri 2007)*

In the same year, the gram panchayat (village council) of Pavagadh passed a resolution opposing the site's heritage status, mainly due to the Authority's action against encroachments, with the sarpanch lamenting the fact that the villagers felt that their voices were not heard, and all change was being imposed from the outside:

> "Everyone speaks in English, the documents are in English and none of our memorandums are taken into consideration."
>
> *(Khan 2007)*

These issues were internally recognised by the Authority (if not externally in their reporting), which noted the following in its July 2007 meeting minutes:

> "It was informed that though there were a lot of misapprehensions and doubts in the minds of the people living in the old heritage area of CPAP, yet through meetings they have been explained benefits of a World Heritage site which would ultimately benefit them."
>
> *(CPAPWHAM 2010, meeting date 18 June 2007)*

At a subsequent meeting, it was agreed that the best solution to the displacement of people was that they be "… accommodated in the proposed shopping complex" (CPAPWHAM 2010, meeting date 18 July 2007).

The zoning restrictions also meant that existing businesses and households became highly restricted in terms of their ability to improve their quality of life:

> "Residents of the Champaner village who unfortunately stay within the Royal Enclosure cannot even get a toilet constructed in their house, because it falls within the ASI protection… These residents have been staying here long before the enactment of ASI law, yet they have to suffer. It is difficult to ensure

> hygiene and good life-style to local residents if ASI laws remain as stringent without any scope for flexibility."
>
> *(Modi 2008, 178)*

In 2009, out of frustration the local community took matters into their own hands, taking the ASI and other stakeholders such as the Heritage Trust before the Gujarat High Court, challenging the legitimacy of the 2006 Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park World Heritage Area Management Authority Act. This was based on the contention that the community had never been consulted about the nomination of the site for the World Heritage List (ToI 2009c), and that the Authority had not notified residents of there the core and buffer zones were, so they could not be held to account for encroaching on them (DNA 2009) and the law should be revoked. While this action was unsuccessful, it did highlight the tension and perceived lack of engagement and communication between the Authority and the local community.

Communalism has continued to play a role in stirring dissatisfaction among locals, particularly through BJP politician Niraj Jain, who has been blamed for stirring 'anti-heritage ferment' (Puri 2007), as in the following speech:

> "Our freedom is restricted. The Central Government, through the ASI, is conspiring to take away our livelihood. It will now decide how to construct homes. All this is due to the heritage status being forced on it by a foreign body..."
>
> *(Khan 2007)*

On other occasions Jain has been more revealing about his objections, complaining that the Muslim monuments were getting more attention and resources through the World Heritage site than the Hindu ones such as the Kalika Mata temple (Abdi 2007).

### 5.4.5 Tourism

Champaner-Pavagadh receives over 2 million pilgrims per year (Sinha et al. 2009, 209), almost exclusively to the temples on Pavagadh Hill, and just under 120,000 tourists visit the World Heritage monuments at Champaner (Gov. India 2014a, 103). This division between kinds of visitors was described in the 2012 periodic report to UNESCO:

> "Compared to the over about 22 lakhs of pilgrims, the number of visitors coming to see the heritage monuments of the Jami Masjid and Shaher-ki-Masjid, which are the ticketed monuments of the Archaeological Survey of India, are far less, albeit the footfalls show yearly steady upward-going trend since the monuments of the CPAP were inscribed in the WH list."
>
> *(UNESCO 2012, 10)*

Figure 62 shows the slight increase (ca. 2%) in visitor numbers over a three-year period, from 2012-2014.

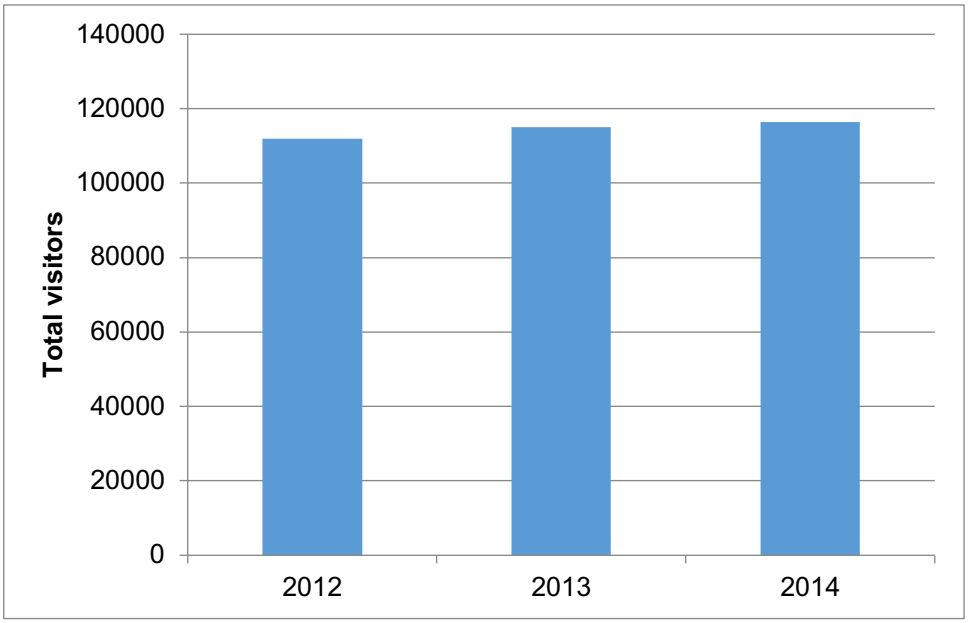



Figure 62: Champaner-Pavagadh visitor statistics (tourists) for 2012-2014 (Gov. India 2014a, 103).

Champaner receives a comparable number of tourists to Sanchi, but less than one-third than at more popular sites in Gujarat such as the Sun Temple at Modhera (Gov. India 2014a, 103). Like Bhimbetka, the percentage of foreign tourists is still relatively small, at around 1.6% (Gov. India 2014a, 103)

The state government has made several efforts to grow tourism at Champaner, for example launching a state-wide 'year of tourism' at the site in 2005 (Westcoat 2007, 59) and giving it prominence in the 2016 'Khushbu Gujarat Ki' promotion to encourage domestic tourism (ToI 2016).

With Gujarat's strong business focus however, some of the proposals for the site are not entirely appropriate. During the World Heritage nomination process in 2003 for example, a *Times of India* article discussed plans to "… make Champaner Festival an annual affair and begin tourism promotion activities like para-gliding" (ToI 2003). Similarly the Gujarat Infrastructure Development Board lists Champaner-Pavagadh as an investment opportunity, suitable for running an amusement park and a "sound and light show" (GIDB 2016).

Like both Bhimbetka and Sanchi, the nearest airport at Vadodara is domestic only, with international visitors needing to make short flights from either Delhi or Mumbai

(Shivananda et al. 2009, 93). For domestic tourism Champaner has a station on the Vadodara-Godhara railway line (Shivananda et al. 2009, 95), which cuts through the site along with the state highway from Vadodara, and there is an interstate bus terminal near the royal enclosure walls (DLAUIUC 2001, 24).

For tourists wanting to stay close to the site, there are three international hotels, and over 10 dharmashalas (pilgrim lodges) at the base of Pavagadh Hill (DLAUIUC 2001, 5).

As mentioned earlier, Champaner-Pavagadh is managed on a very minimalist basis, with little to no interpretation or guidance for tourists. On my first visit to the site I needed to ask for directions from local people in order to reach at least three quarters of the monuments, as there was no signage or map available. This can be seen in the 2012 periodic report to UNESCO, where the Authority admitted in its own ratings of the site that the majority of facilities were not provided at all (see Table 35 below).

| Facility/service | Rating |
|---|---|
| Visitor centre | Not provided but needed |
| Site museum | Not provided but needed |
| Information booths | Not provided but needed |
| Guided tours | Poor |
| Trails/routes | Not provided but needed |
| Information materials | Adequate |
| Transportation facilities | Adequate |

Table 35: Response to the question “Please rate the adequacy for education, information and awareness building of the following visitor facilities and services at the World Heritage property” in the 2012 periodic report to UNESCO (UNESCO 2012, 9).

### 5.4.6 Site-specific approach

While each of the World Heritage sites described in this chapter are managed differently, Champaner does receive markedly less state attention and support than the others, and in fact due to lack of government interest was the first site ever to have been nominated to the World Heritage List by an NGO (ToI 2004a). Being a primarily Islamic site in an area of high communal tensions, where the BJP state government has played a central role in stoking these, may be a factor in this. While I have no direct evidence of this, this may have played some role in the reluctance of the ASI to have me conduct my research on the site.

Two sets of questionnaire surveys were conducted at the site, as described in chapter four. The local residents survey was conducted in Champaner village and Halol town.

# 6 Analysis

## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with an overview of the demographics of the populations surveyed for each of the case studies outlined in chapter 4, which is then followed by analysis of their responses in regard to each research question.

## 6.2 Survey demographics

Reflecting the diversity of the greater Indian population, the 660 people surveyed for this research ranged in age from 18 to over 84, came from 24 different Indian states, were primary speakers of 13 different languages, professed 8 different religions, and represented a wide range of occupational and educational levels.

### 6.2.1 Sex

The main bias referred to in chapter 4, of having had more male than female respondents, resulted in a sample of 198 females and 262 males. This represents a sex ratio of 756:1000 compared to 944:1000 for the total Indian population (Gov. India 2011a). This is further broken down in Figure 63, which shows the sex ratios for each survey.

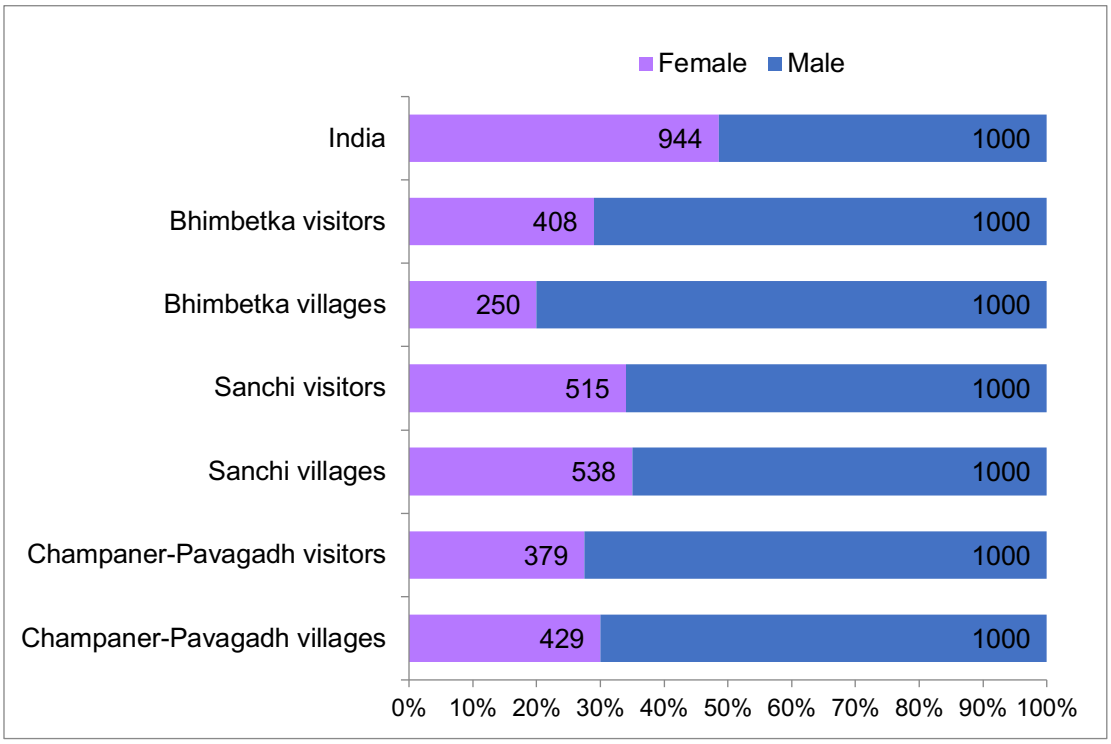



Figure 63: Sex ratios for each survey compared to that for India overall (India data from Gov. India 2011).

With the visitor surveys, at Bhimbetka and Champaner-Pavagadh the ratio was similar with 408 and 379 women to 1000 men respectively, which seemed to match the actual proportions of visitors. Similarly, the higher ratio of 515:1000 at Sanchi seemed to reflect the fact that there were more female visitors there overall, rather than a significantly different willingness to take part.

It was mainly at Champaner-Pavagadh where sex was significantly correlated with a difference of opinions. Women for example were more likely to say that the site was important for India's identity by 'demonstrating the age of our culture' than were men ($p = 0.017491$), while men were also more likely to say that the site was not important for the rest of the world as there were many similar sites, while women were not ($p = 0.027486$).

In the case of the village surveys, the number of women interviewed very much reflected accessibility and approachability. This in turn was largely a function of the tribal proportion of the population, with Bhimbetka having the highest ST population and least female interviews, Sanchi the lowest ST population and most female interviews, and Champaner intermediate on both counts.

### 6.2.2 Age

The age ranges captured by the visitor surveys display a similar trend to that of the total Indian population, although numbers are higher by up to 15% in the 18-34 age range (see Figure 64). This is likely due in part to the fact that domestic tourism is now increasing due to the increased spending power of the rapidly growing Indian middle class (NCAER 2003, ii–iii), which is largely comprised of this age range. There is no major difference in the age distribution of visitors to the three sites, other than that Sanchi tends to have slightly more (ca. 12%) visitors in the 18-19 age range.

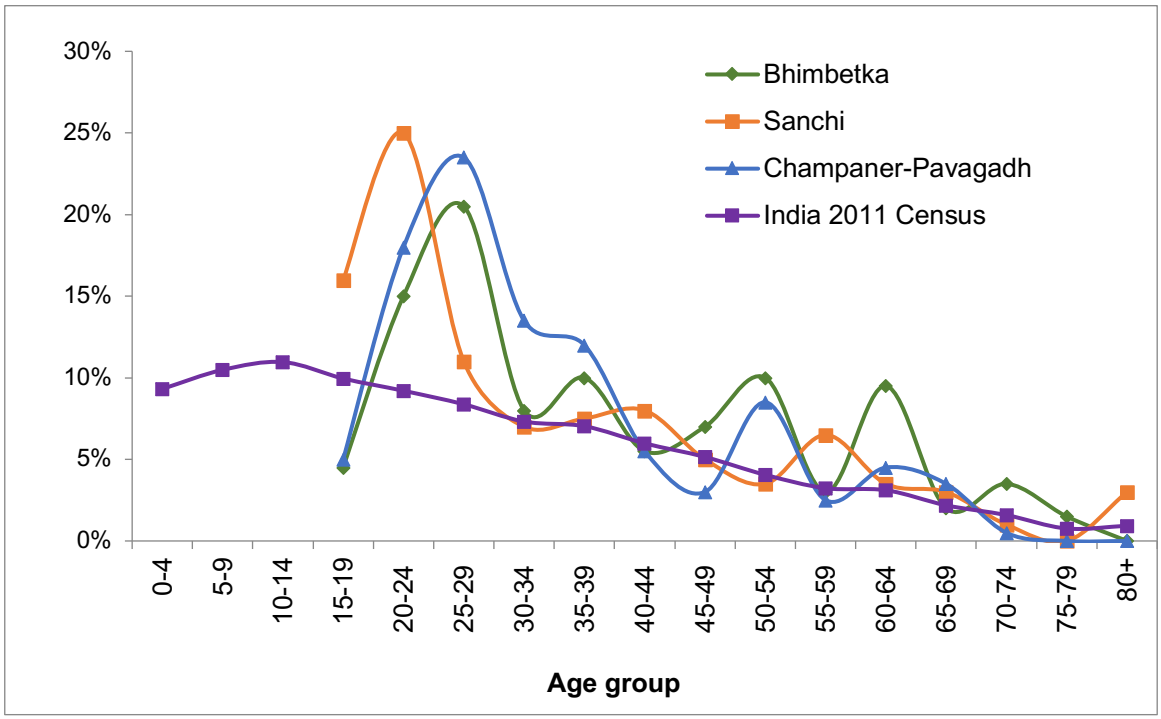



Figure 64: Population distribution of visitor survey participants, compared to that for India overall (India data from Gov. India 2011).

The ages of participants in the village surveys were also somewhat biased towards younger age groups (see Figure 65). In this case the variance was due to accessibility, as the people who were out and about in the villages tended to be younger, and they were both more approachable and literate on average.

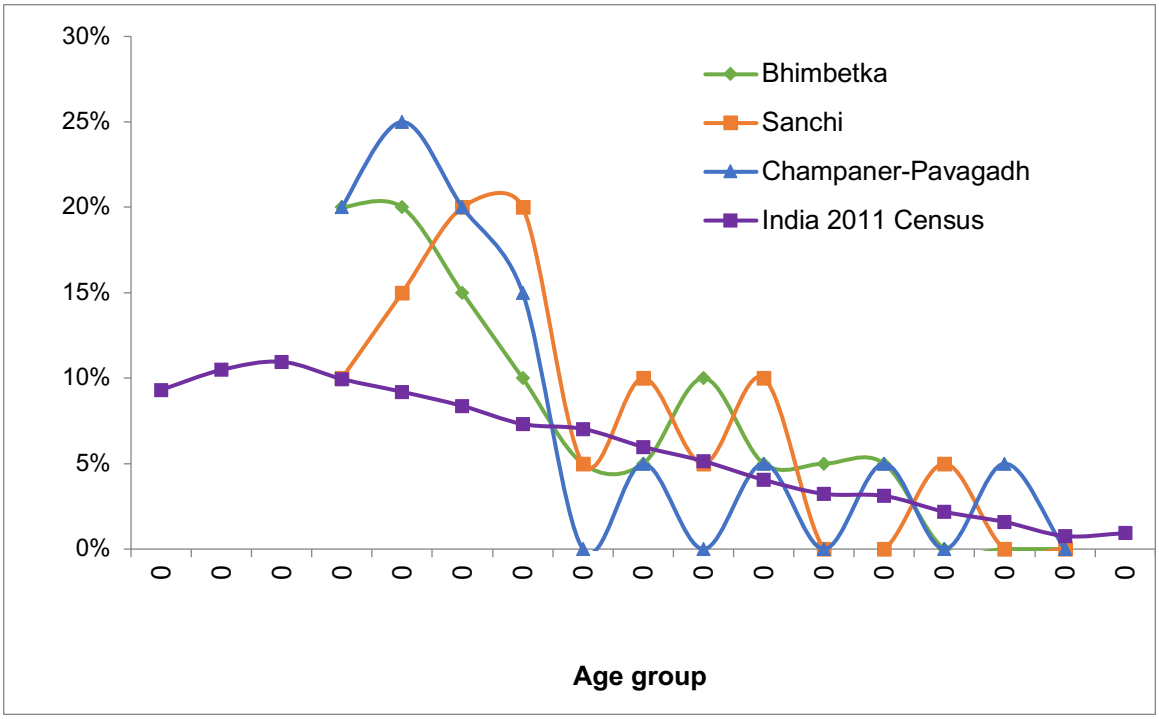



Figure 65: Population distribution of village survey participants, compared to that for India overall (India data from Gov. India 2011).

### 6.2.3 Place of origin

Visitor survey participants came from a wide range of locations: 18 at both Bhimbetka and Sanchi, and 15 at Champaner-Pavagadh (see Figure 66, Figure 67 and Figure 68). In each case the majority of visitors were from within the state. The most common sources for Bhimbetka were Madhya Pradesh (26.5%), NCT (15.5%) and Maharashtra (9.5%). While Maharashtra is a neighbouring state, NCT is more distant in the North, and this demonstrates the willingness, especially of the middle class, to travel longer distances to view heritage. Similarly, at Sanchi Madhya Pradesh was highest (36%), followed by NCT (14%) and Tamil Nadu (9.5%). It is not clear why visitor numbers from the latter distant state were especially high, as it does not possess an especially high Buddhist population for example, at only 0.01% (Gov. India 2011a). At Champaner-Pavagadh the number of local visitors was higher, with 53% of visitors from Gujarat, followed by Maharashtra (11%) and again NCT (9.5%).

Place of origin had a demonstrable effect on how people related to each of the sites. At Sanchi for example, visitors who said that the site was important for the rest of the world because it was common human heritage were also much more likely to come from Madhya Pradesh than from other areas ($p = 0.4847576$), while at Champaner-Pavagadh visitors

from Gujarat were more likely to say that the site was important for India's national identity as national heritage (p = 0.0005).

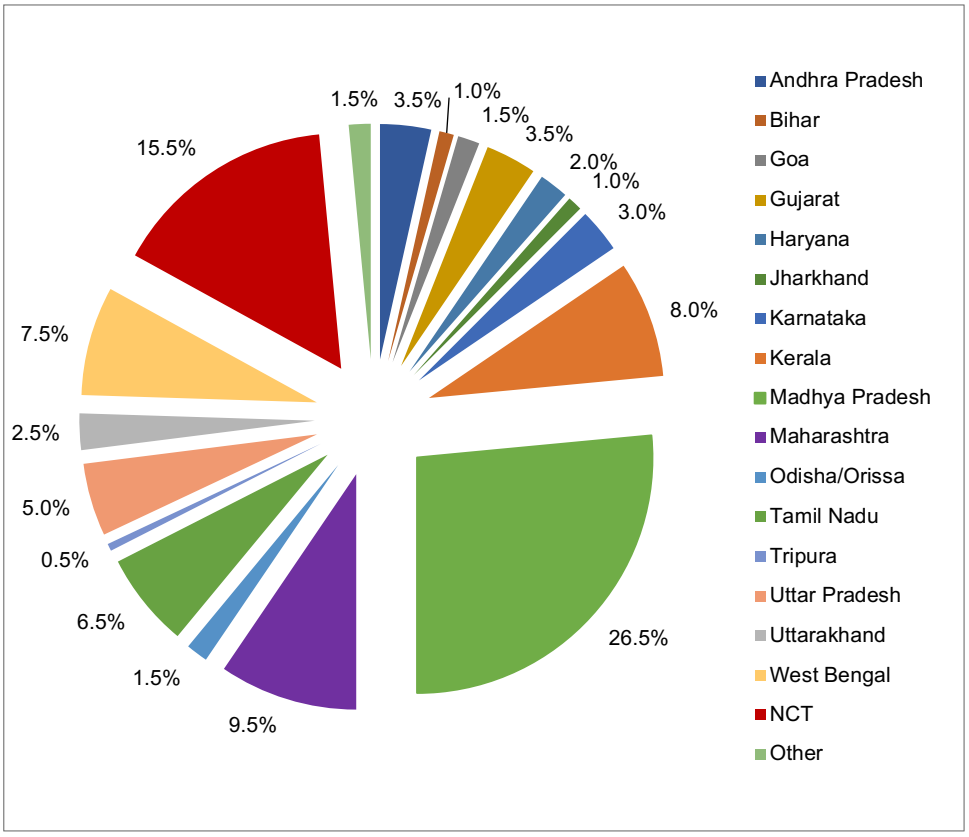



Figure 66: Bhimbetka visitor survey responses to question 27, "Where are you from?"

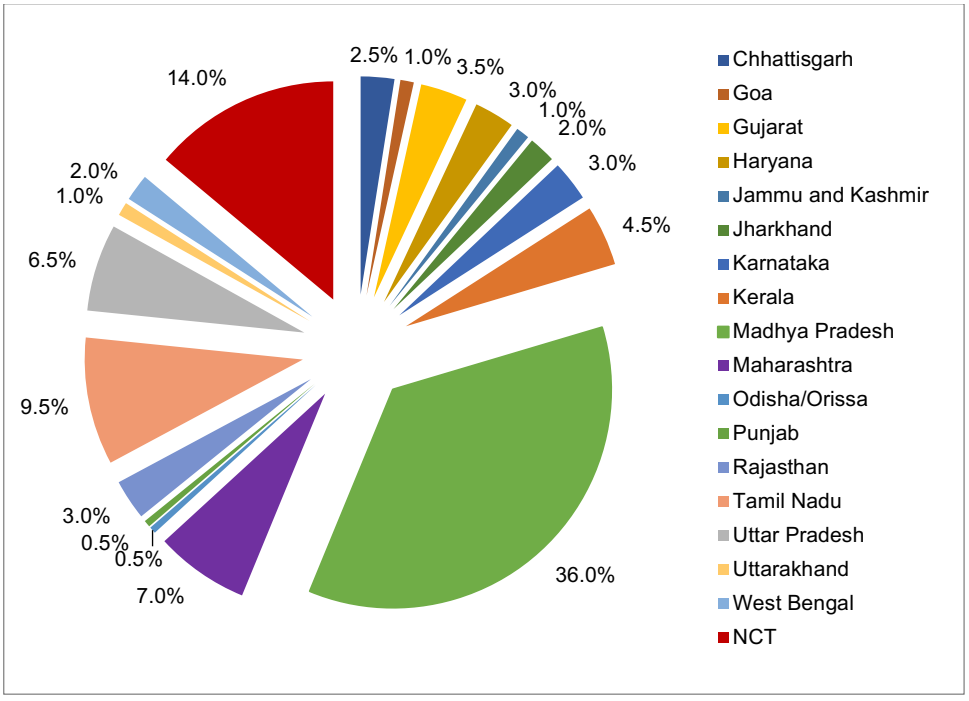



Figure 67: Sanchi visitor survey responses to question 27, "Where are you from?"

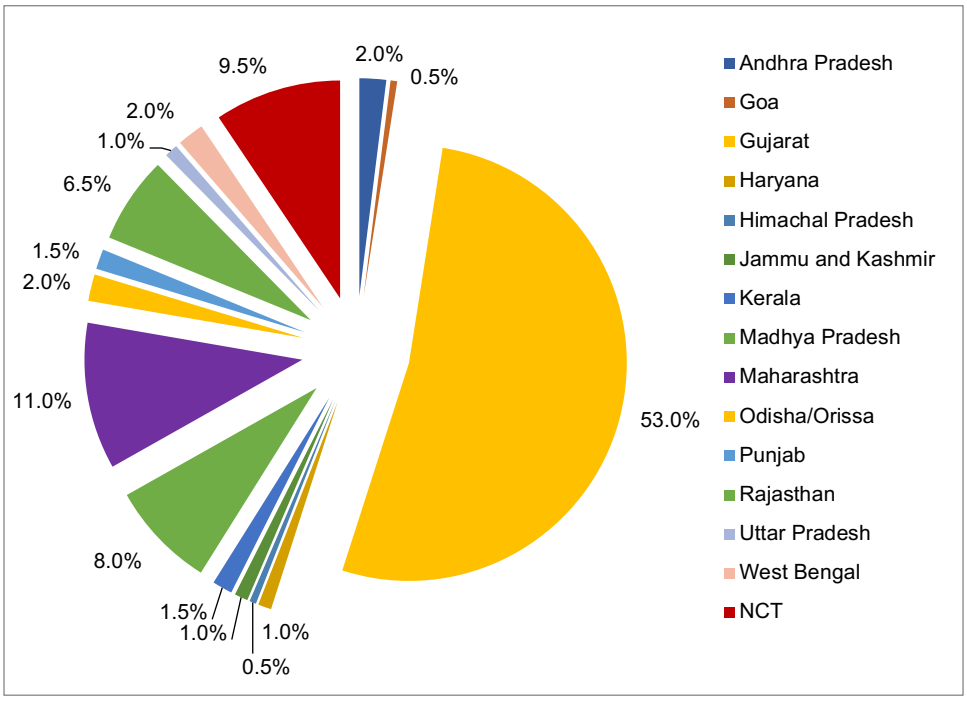



Figure 68: Champaner-Pavagadh visitor survey responses to question 27, “Where are you from?”

### 6.2.4 Language

With regard to the mother tongues of visitors, Hindi was unsurprisingly in the majority for visitors to Bhimbetka and Sanchi, at 50.5% and 66.5%. At Bhimbetka this was followed by Bengali (11.5%) and Tamil (8.5%), while at Sanchi Tamil (9.5%) and Marathi (7.5) were next. At Champaner-Pavagadh the most common mother tongue was Gujarati (47.5%), followed by Hindi (33.5%) and Marathi (9%). Language statistics from the visitor surveys are summarised in Figure 69, Figure 70 and Figure 71.

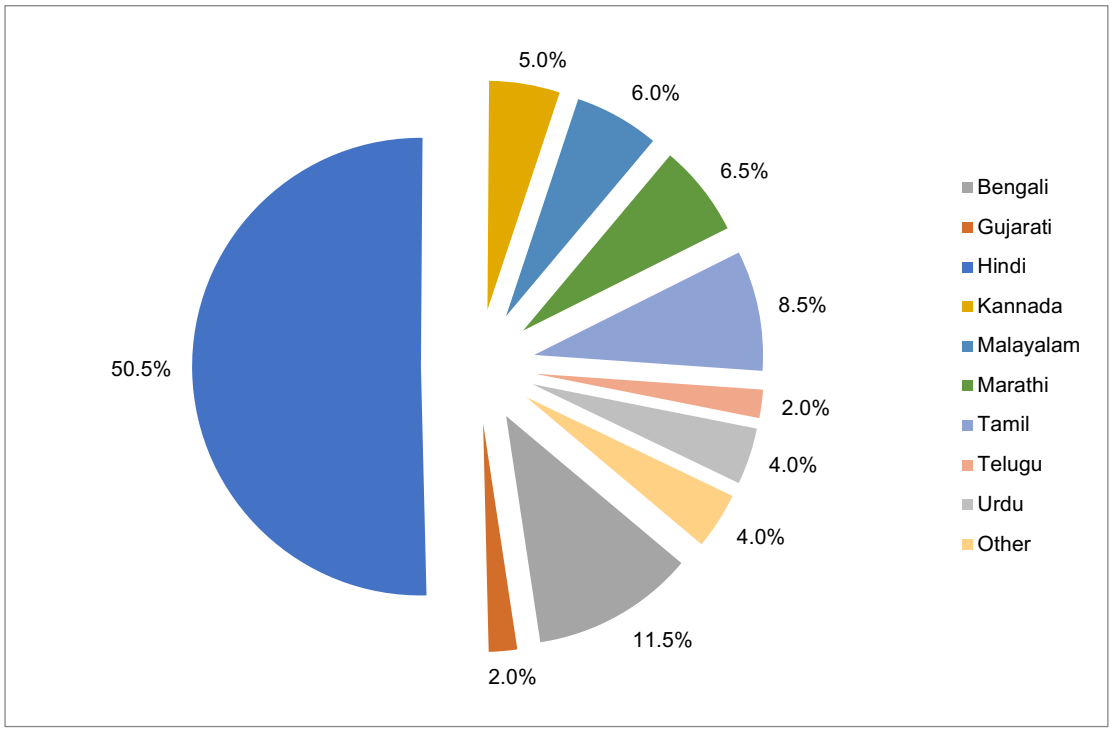



Figure 69: Bhimbetka visitor survey responses to question 28, “What is your mother tongue?”

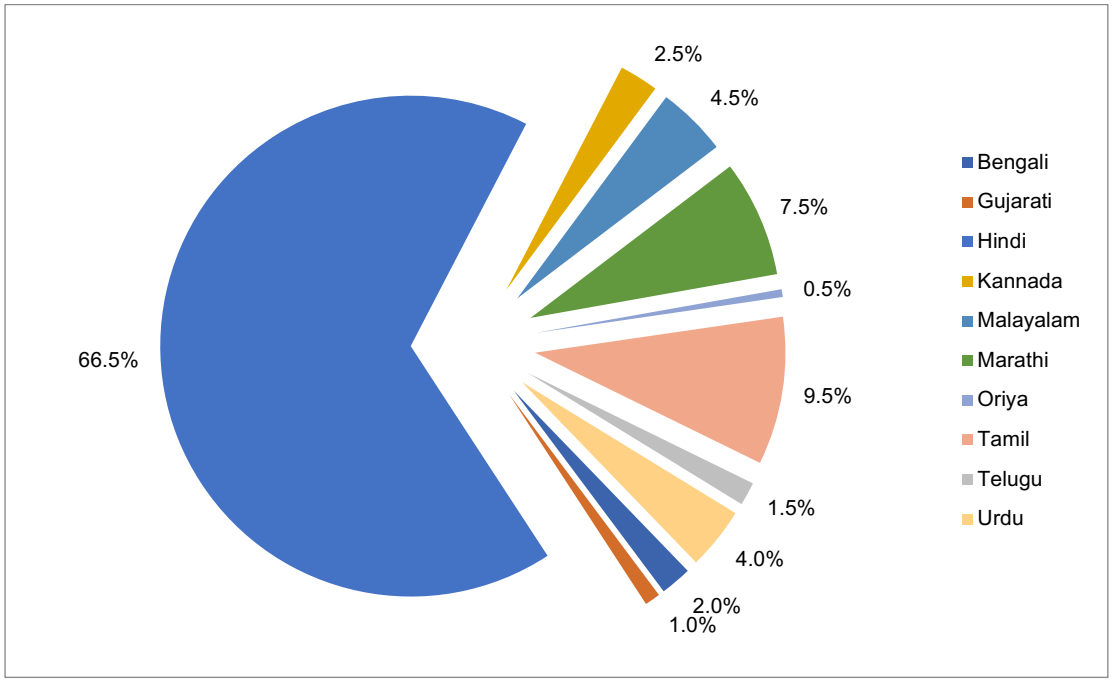



Figure 70: Sanchi visitor survey responses to question 28, “What is your mother tongue?”

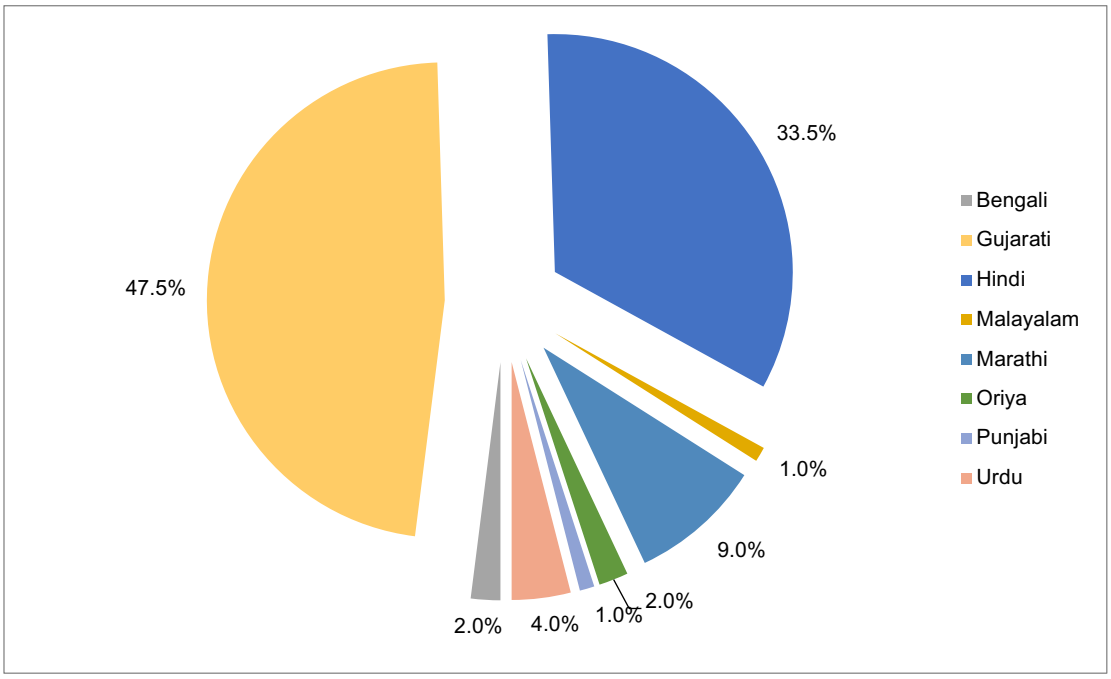



Figure 71: Champaner-Pavagadh visitor survey responses to question 28, “What is your mother tongue?”

In contrast to the visitor surveys, the participants in the village surveys naturally had fewer different mother tongues (see Figure 72, Figure 73 and Figure 74). Once again, Hindi was dominant at Bhimbetka and Sanchi, at 85% and 95% respectively, while Gujarati dominated at Champaner-Pavagadh at 85%. Tribal languages became a factor too however, with 15% Gondi at Bhimbetka, 5% Bhili at Sanchi, and at Champaner-Pavagadh also 5% Bhili plus 5% Naiki (listed under ‘other’).

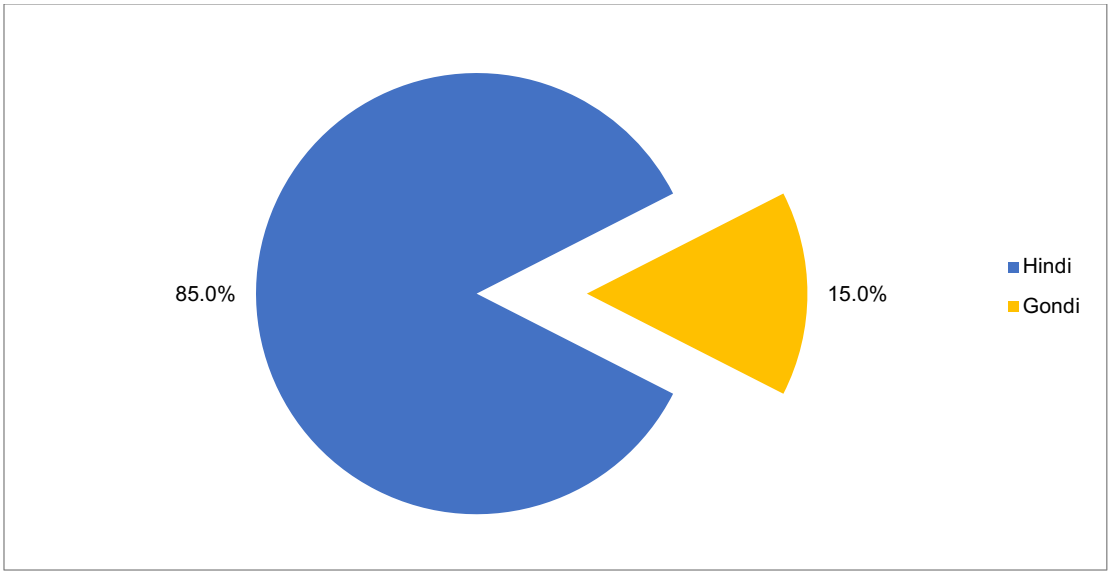



Figure 72: Bhimbetka village survey responses to question 10, “What is your mother tongue?”

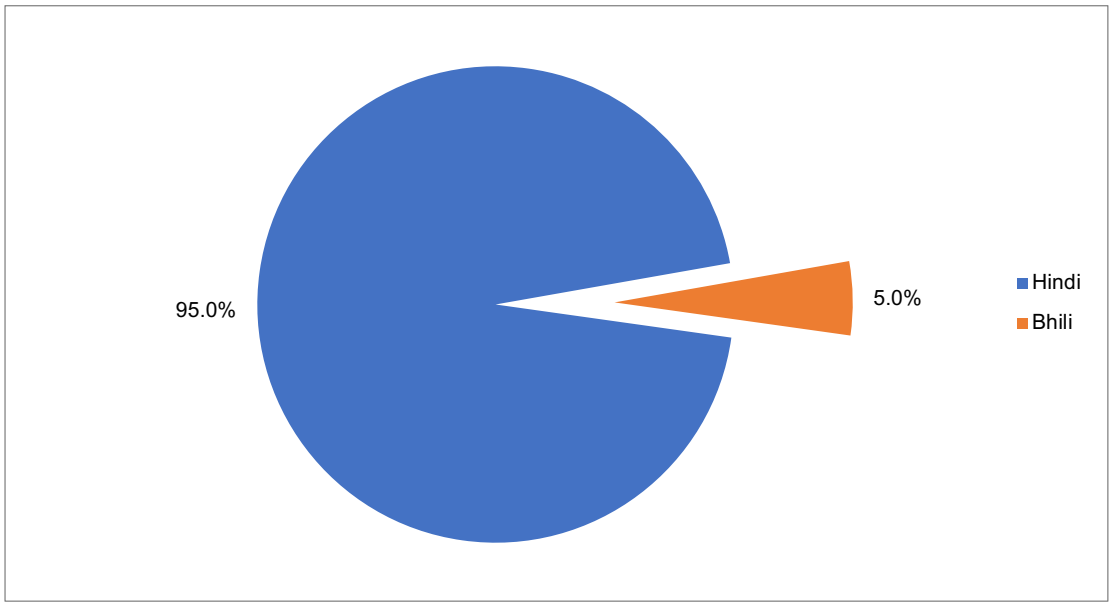



Figure 73: Sanchi village survey responses to question 10, “What is your mother tongue?”

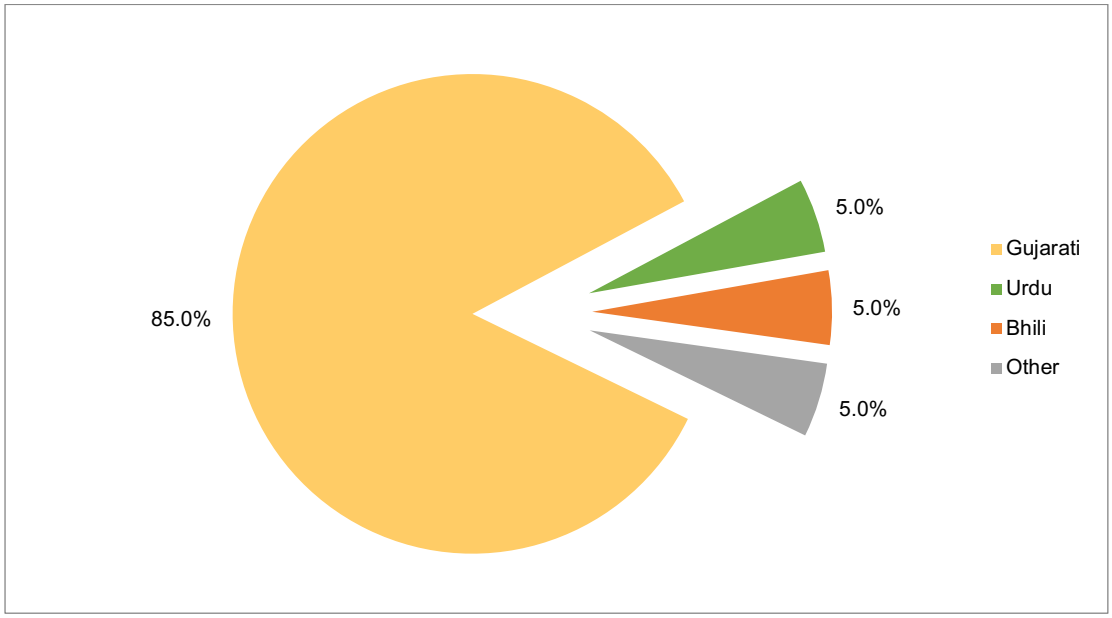



Figure 74: Champaner-Pavagadh village survey responses to question 10, “What is your mother tongue?”

### 6.2.5 Religion

With both the visitor and village surveys, Hinduism was the dominant recorded religion at all three sites, with minority adherence to Buddhism at Sanchi and Islam at Champaner-Pavagadh (see Figure 75 and Figure 76).

Correlations with religion were clearly seen in how visitors answered the survey questions, especially at Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh.

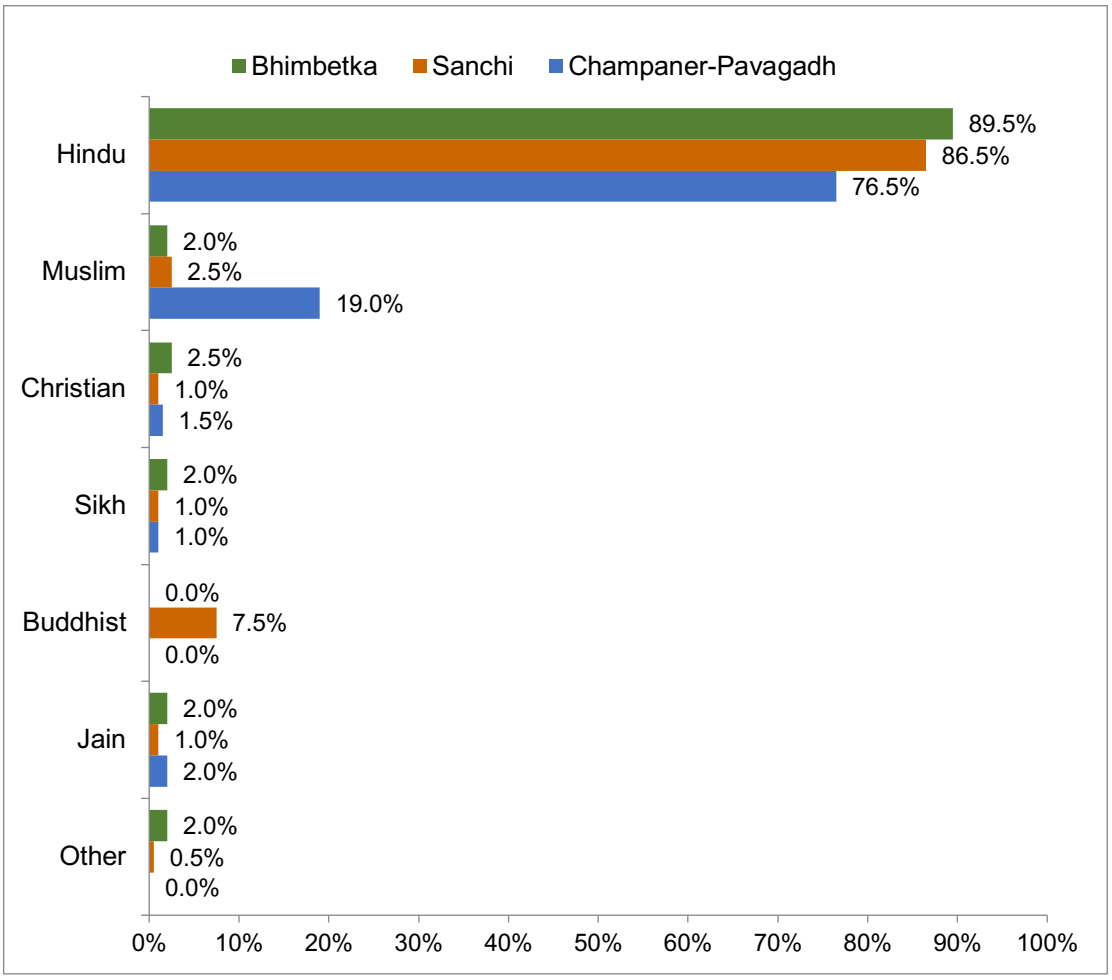



Figure 75: Visitor survey responses to question 29, “What is your religion?”

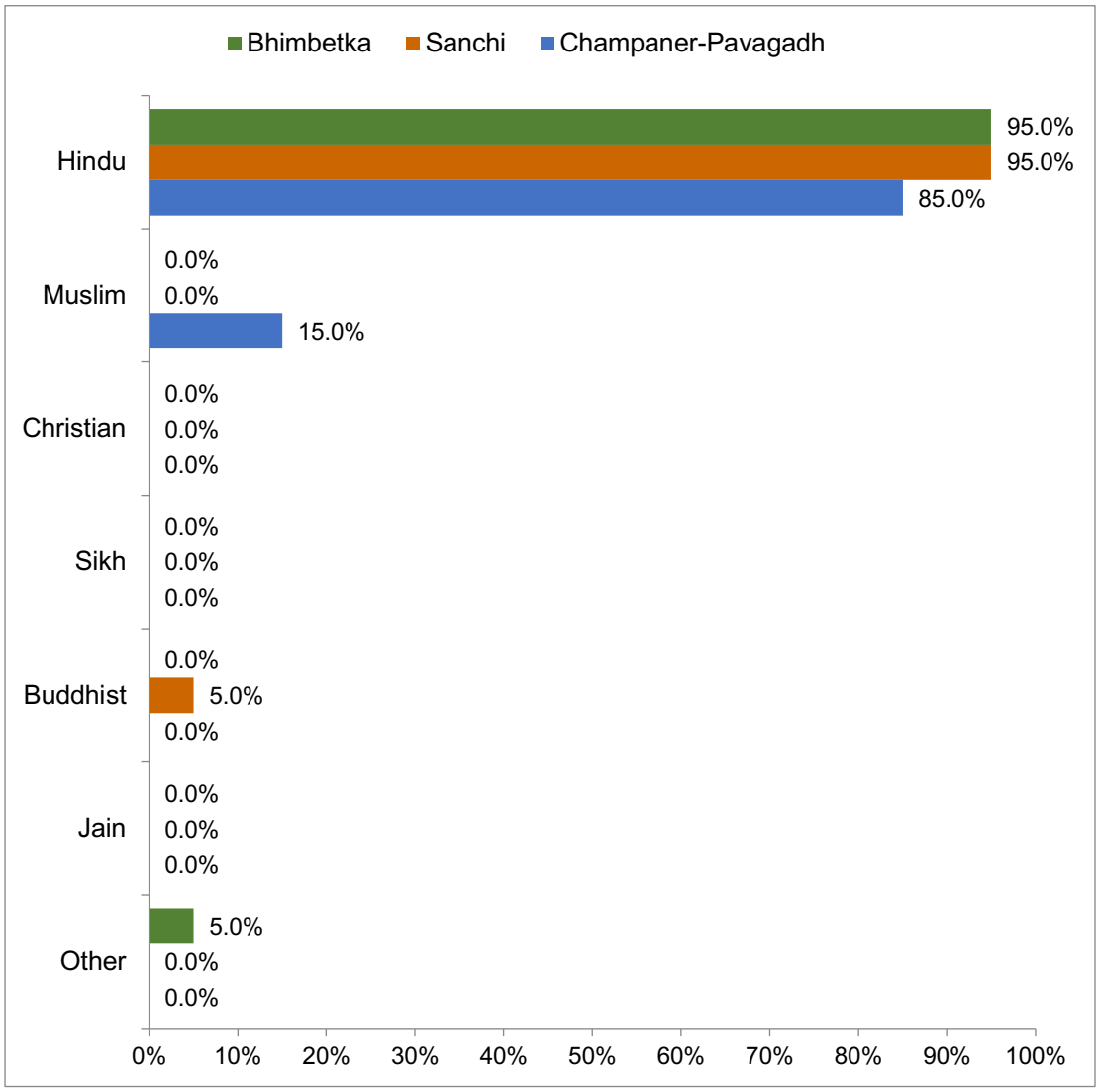



Figure 76: Village survey responses to question 11, “What is your religion?”

At Champaner-Pavagadh the proportion of Muslims visiting the site from within Gujarat was significantly higher than expected, and the number of Hindus correspondingly lower ($p=0.001$), indicating that local religious cultural identity plays an important role in who values the site, especially Champaner village where the survey was most focused.

### 6.2.6 Occupation

Among the visitors to the sites, the majority listed their occupation as ‘other’, which consisted of professional roles such as teachers, doctors, and business people, while the second largest group were students, at around 17-18% on all sites (see Figure 77). This was in stark contrast to the members of the communities in and around the sites, of whom no more than 5% had professional status, 10-15% were students, and with the rest working in agriculture and household industries (see Figure 78).

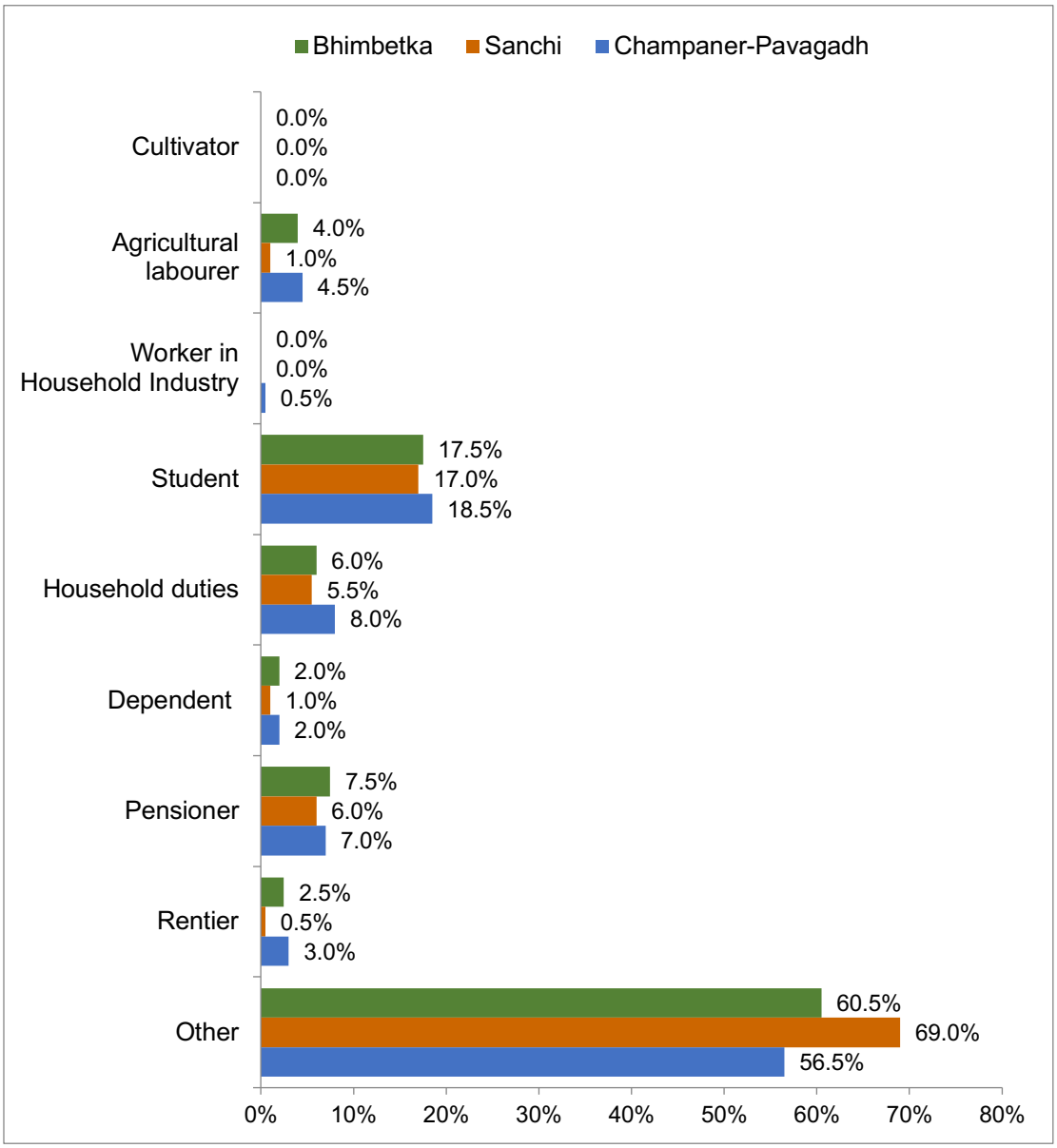



Figure 77: Visitor survey responses to question 30, “What is your occupation?”

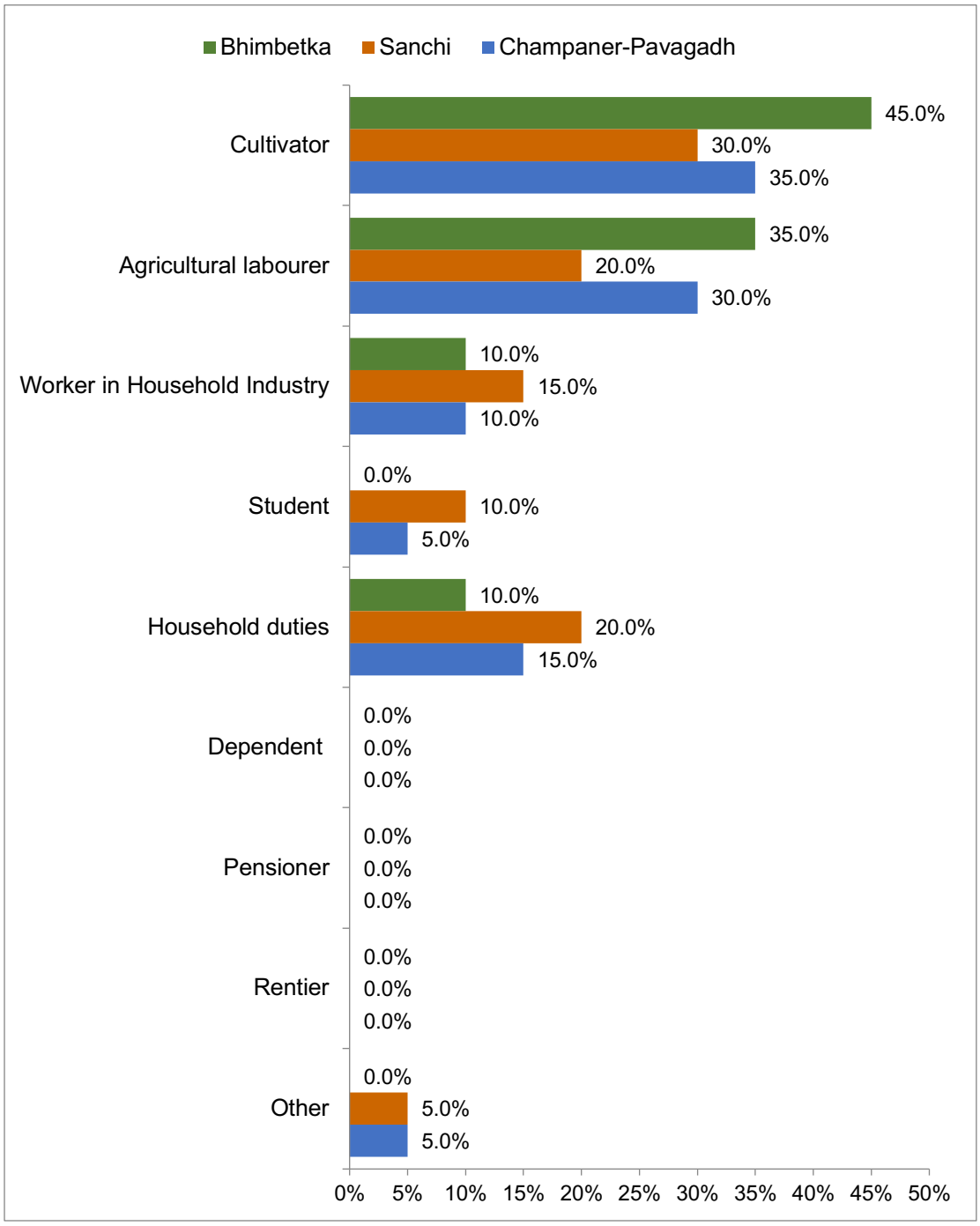



Figure 78: Village survey responses to question 12, “What is your occupation?”

### 6.2.7 Education

Visitors recorded predominantly higher and technical educational levels (see Figure 79), while for the villagers 85% had not progressed past primary or secondary levels (see Figure 80).

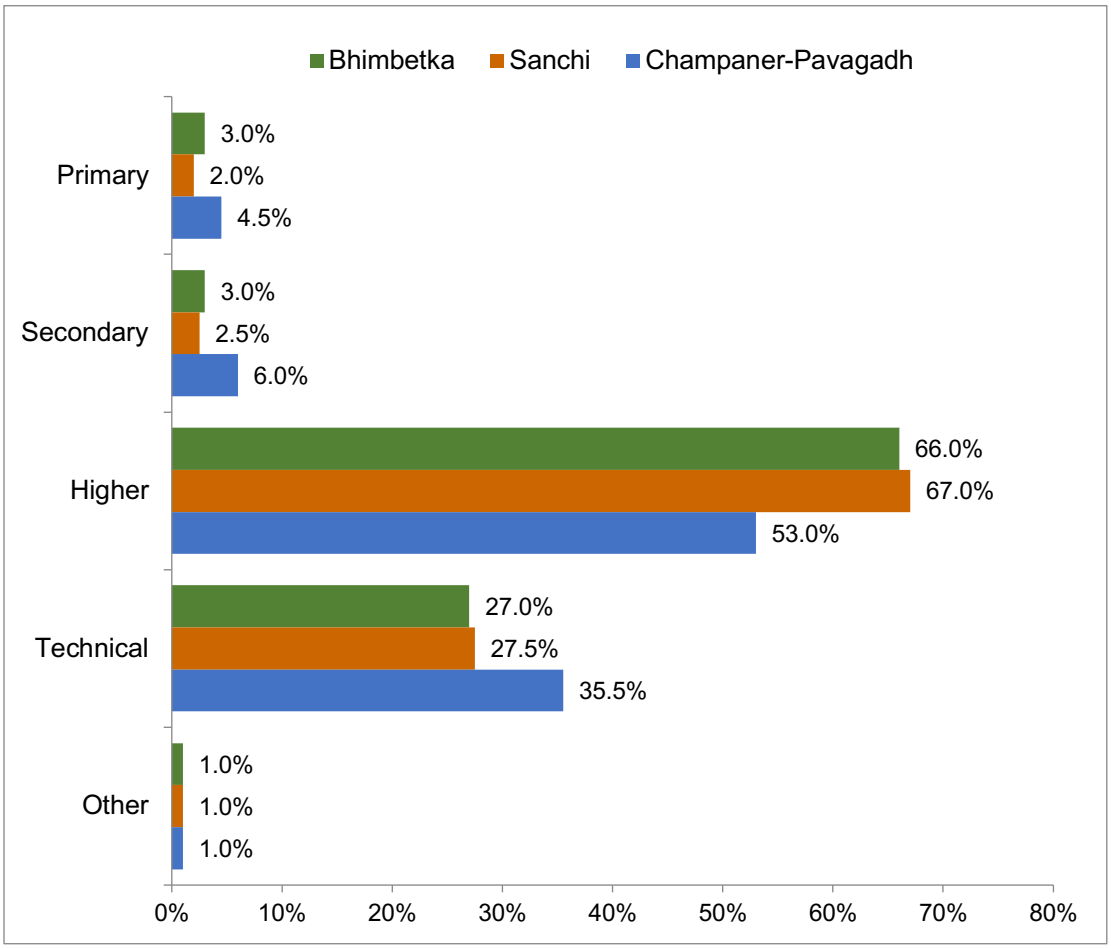



Figure 79: Visitor survey responses to question 31, “What level of education have you reached?”

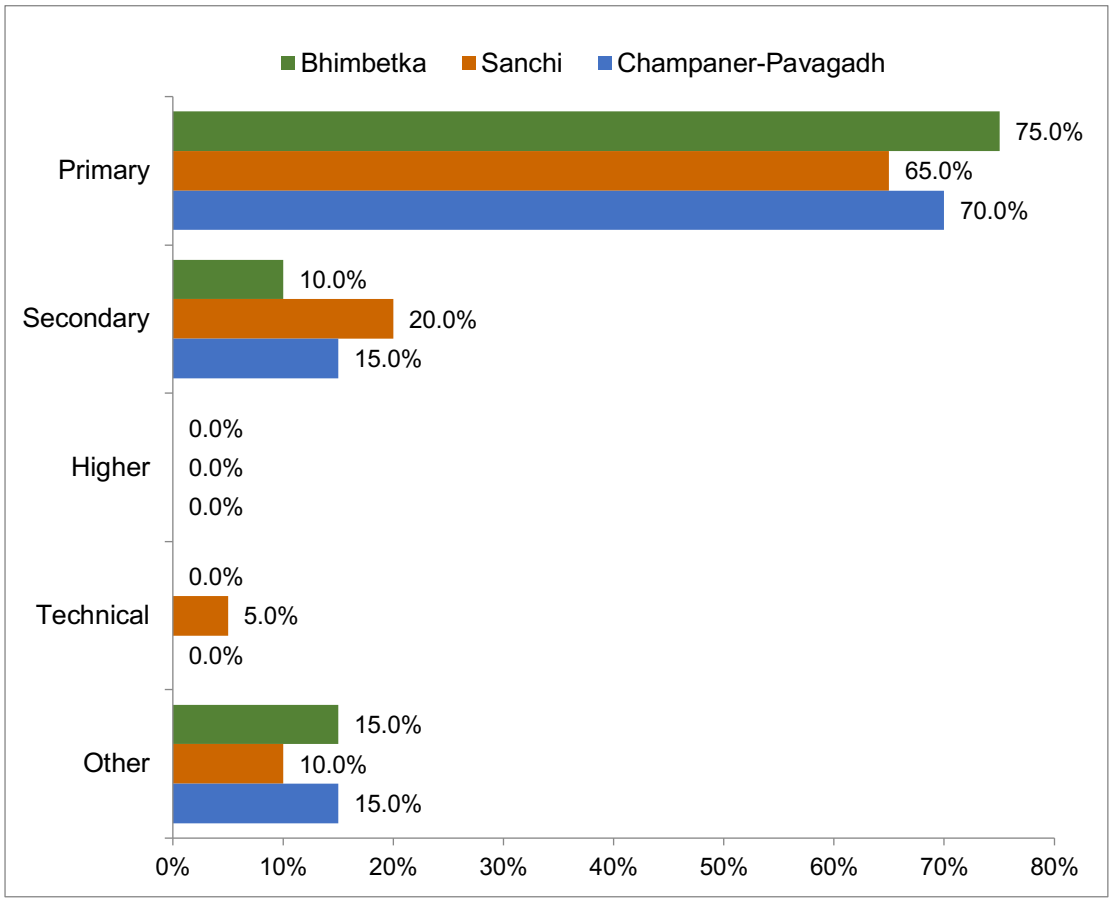



Figure 80: Village survey responses to question 13, “What level of education have you reached?”

In the Champaner-Pavagadh village survey education was also strongly linked to religion, with Hindu respondents being significantly more likely (p=0.033) likely to have attained advanced education, and no Muslims having advanced beyond primary. Similarly, while all ST members had achieved primary education, none had gone further.

### 6.2.8 Scheduled Tribe status

Among village survey respondents, Scheduled Tribe status was highest at Bhimbetka (75%) then Champaner-Pavagadh (20%), and lowest at Sanchi (10%) (see Figure 81). Part of the reason for the difference in levels is likely the growth and industrialisation of the villages at Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh, which has brought in more non-tribal members of these communities.

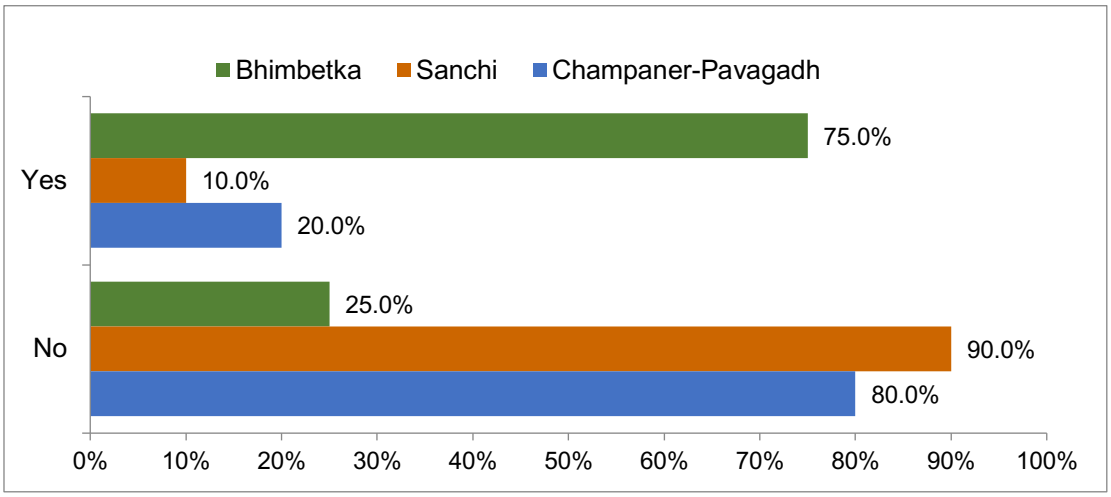



Figure 81: Village survey responses to question 14, “Are you a member of a Scheduled Tribe?”

ST religious affiliations were varied at Bhimbetka and Sanchi, but not at Champaner, where all identified as Hindu. While the study sample here is small, this is not altogether surprising given documented examples such the large-scale adoption of Kshatriya identity among the tribal population (Srinivas 1969, 38 and see chapter 5).

## 6.3 Research Questions

### 6.3.1 Research Question 1: How do visitors and local communities relate to Indian World Heritage sites in terms of identity?

The surveys contained four key questions specifically designed to understand the way in which both visitors and the local communities related to the World Heritage sites in terms of identity, plus numerous additional questions which added context or touched on the question. For the visitor surveys the key questions were the following:

- 9: “Do you identify yourself with the people who lived here in the past?”
- 10: “Do you think [site] is important for India's identity?”
- 11: “Do you think [site] is important for the rest of the world?”
- 22: “To what extent do you agree with the following statements about the people who made the [features]?”

The following sections will analyse the answers to each of these questions individually, looking at correlations with the demographic data and other questions, followed by a summary that combines the results to concisely answer the research question.

#### *6.3.1.1 Visitors*

The survey first attempted to investigate whether visitors perceived any personal identity connection between themselves and the original inhabitants of the sites. When asked "do you identify yourself with the people who lived here in the past?", 78% of visitors replied in the affirmative (see Figure 82). While at Bhimbetka and Sanchi the figure was nearly identical at 81% and 82% respectively, it was lower at Champaner at 72%.

This was somewhat unexpected for several reasons. Firstly, given the mixed cultural and religious history of the site, it could be expected that visitors of all backgrounds would find some grounds for identification. Given that the proportion of Muslims visiting the site was higher than statistically expected, and the larger part of the survey was conducted on the Champaner portion of the site, it might also have been expected that this would also have increased the numbers reporting identification. It seems that while Muslims did come in numbers and identify strongly with the site, they still made up only 15% of those surveyed. At the same time, the Hindus surveyed were significantly unlikely to say that they identified, which reduced the overall score. This was likely due to a range of factors, including the lack of interpretive information on the site explaining the role of Hindu craftsmen in its creation, the fact that some Hindu visitors (8%) had come predominantly for religious/pilgrimage reasons on Pavagadh hill, and the background of communal tension in Gujarat overall.

Of those who responded positively, the main reasons were "I find it interesting / I like it", and "I have studied related things (archaeology, history)".

This was a multiple-answer question, and it was interesting that participants at Bhimbetka chose to tick more of the positive answers than did those at Sanchi and then Champaner-Pavagadh. A possible explanation here is that the older the site, the less it is associated with modern societal groupings, and therefore has less negative connotations and more positive ones. This is further emphasised by the fact that Bhimbetka was seen to be common human heritage by 25% of participants, followed by 21.5% at Sanchi, and 17% at Champaner-Pavagadh. The lower score at the latter site can once again especially be linked to the religion of the respondent, with Hindus much less likely to regard the site as common human heritage than other religions ($p = 0.01449775$).

Whether or not the respondent lived close to the site was not a major factor, except perhaps for Bhimbetka, where 11.5% gave it importance as a factor, compared to 6% and 7% at Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh respectively. Factors that may contribute to this

is the geography of Bhimbetka, with the Vindhya range being highly visible and iconic in the region, and also the fact that there are many other rock art sites throughout it (Singh 2015, 867; Alam 2005, 92; Wakankar 1985, 175; Jacobson 1980, 68; Wakankar 1979, 25; Bhattacharyya 1977, 2).

Further interpreting these results, it appears that overall, visitors did perceive a significant connection to the original inhabitants of the three sites. The reasons for this were often slightly different from site to site. At Bhimbetka, the site contained rock art old enough that it could not be associated with any particular modern social group in terms of ancestry, and therefore was less likely to alienate visitors culturally. Similarly at Sanchi, while some visitors would have felt a strong religious association to the site, because Buddhism is now in a much-diminished position in India and has even been assimilated to some degree within Hinduism (Gaborieau 1985, 8), the site was also unlikely to alienate visitors.

At Champaner-Pavagadh however, despite the mixed cultural background of the site communal issues of were still highly salient, and this meant that Hindus were less likely to feel a connection to the site, while Muslims felt a very strong one, as demonstrated by many correlations found in the answers to the following questions.

Identification with the people who had lived at the sites in the past was found to be correlated with both location and education.

At Bhimbetka, familiarity with the area seems to have been an important factor. Those who stated that they identified with the people who had lived there in the past were also likely to be from the area ($p = 0.0172531$) say that they were aware of local and tribal villages ($p = 0.0109945$). They were also likely by extension to say that the people who had made the paintings were the ancestors of the people living in the area today ($p = 0.03998001$). Of those who identified because this was ‘common human heritage’, a significant number also have this reason for why the site was important for the rest of the world also ($p = 0.03448276$).

Locals also had more opportunities to visit sites and thereby strengthen their identification with them over time. Identifying with the past inhabitants of a site due to living in the local area was also correlated with frequency of visits at Sanchi, where locals who identified were also highly likely to have visited it at least two-three times or more than five times ($p = 0.0029985$).

Education was also a factor at Champaner, where those visitors who said they identified with the people who had lived there in the past because they had studied related things

such as history or archaeology also unsurprisingly had attained higher education in the majority of cases (p = 0.001).

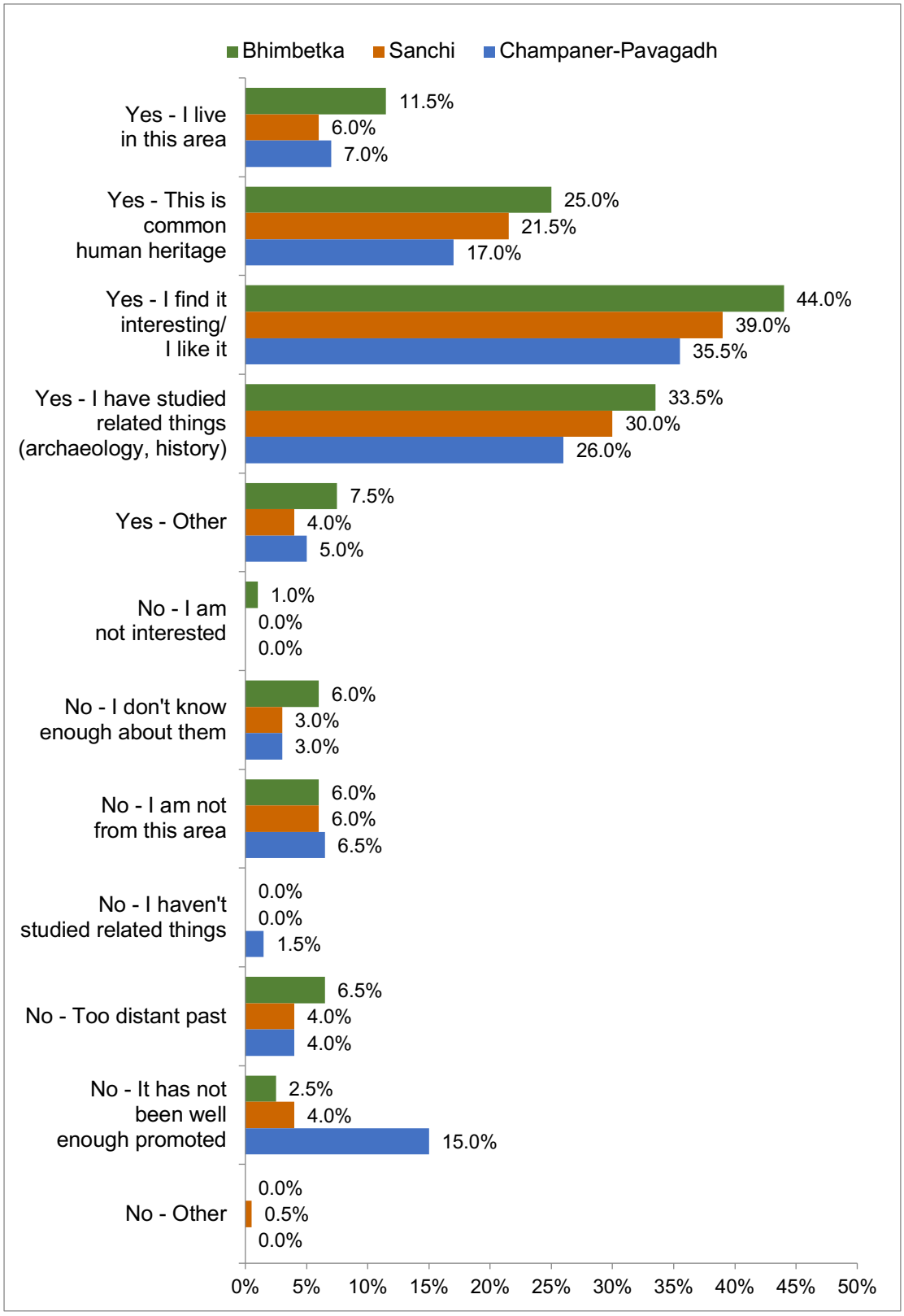



Figure 82: Visitor survey responses to question 9, “Do you identify yourself with the people who lived here in the past?”

The next question attempted to find out whether visitors felt the site was related to the identity of India itself. When asked “do you think [site] is important for India’s identity?” 87% of respondents answered positively. Once again, this was less the case at Champaner-Pavagadh (77%) compared to Sanchi (94%) and Bhimbetka (91%) (see Figure 83).

Those who said that the reason for their visit was ‘historical interest’ were also likely to say that the site was important for India’s identity. At Bhimbetka the most correlated reason was ‘it demonstrates the age of our culture’ ($p = 0.02748626$), while at Sanchi it was ‘we should be proud of it’ ($p = 0.01249375$).

At Champaner-Pavagadh religion played a strong role, with Muslims significantly likely to say that the site was national heritage, while Hindus were significantly unlikely to do so ($p = 0.034483$), with an even stronger religious bias among those who did or did not agree that people should be proud of the site ($p = 0.0005$). This was further reflected in the fact that those who said the site was national heritage were also likely to claim that they had learnt about their own past during their visit ($p = 0.003998$). Those who said that the site was important for India’s identity because ‘we should be proud of it’ were also likely to say that the people who built the monuments were their own ancestors ($p = 0.005497$).

It was interesting to note that of the visitors to Champaner-Pavagadh who felt that the people who had built the monuments were their ancestors, there was nonetheless a clear correlation with not regarding the site as important for India’s identity because ‘most people don’t know about it’ ($p = 0.001$).

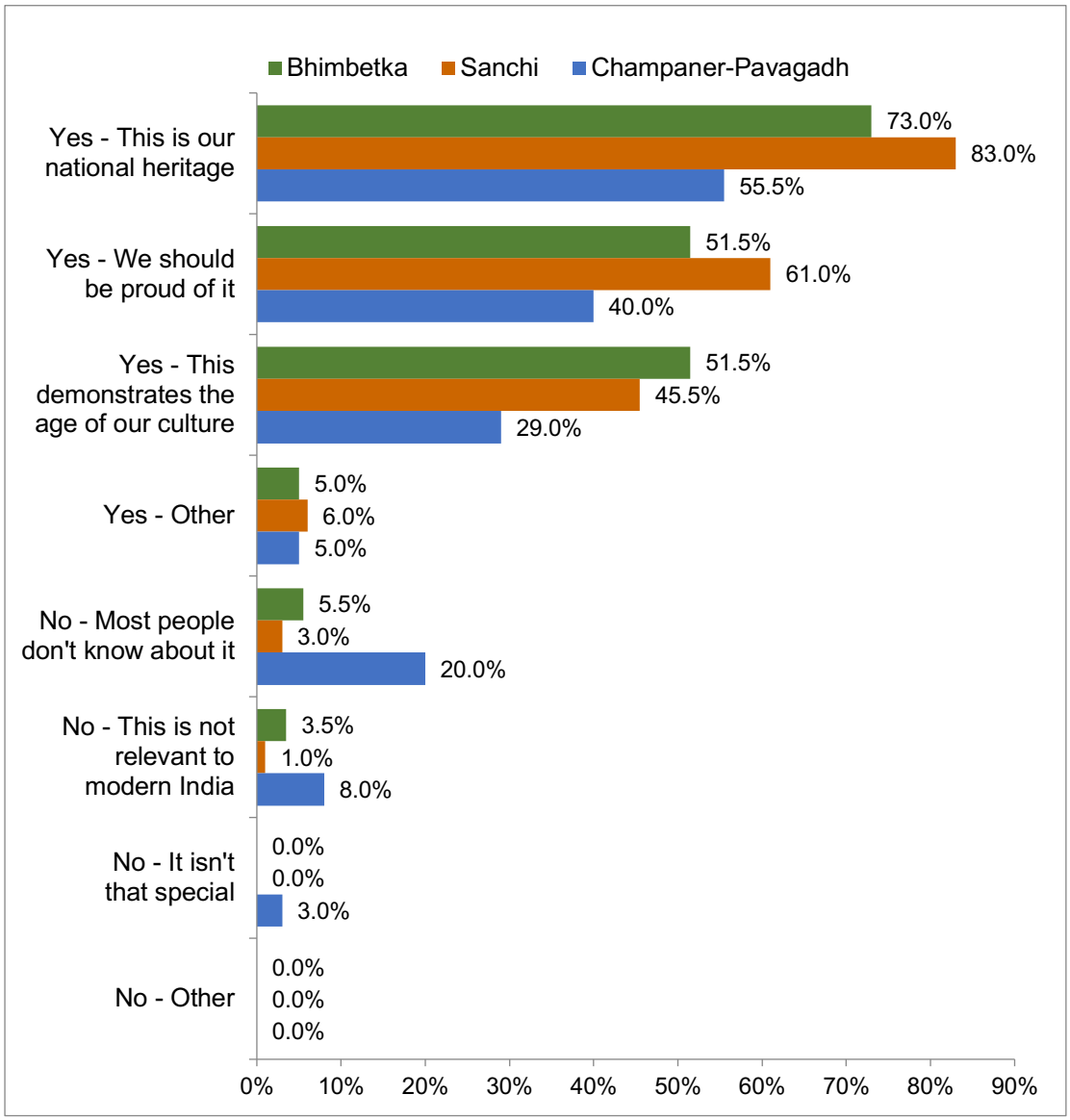



Figure 83: Visitor survey responses to question 10, "Do you think [site] is important for India's Identity?"

The breakdown of respondents' reasoning is particularly interesting. Sanchi was said to be most important for India's identity because it was national heritage at 83%. This seemed in part to reflect awareness of the role of Asoka in not only having ruled the majority of the subcontinent, but also in embodying the spread of Buddhism and what has become the quintessentially Indian concept of *dharma*. This is exemplified in the informal comments of one visitor, referring to the monuments:

> "These sculptures are called Dharma Chakras and they are our national symbol. It is the wheel of law for the Buddhists but also for Hindus."
>
> *Sanchi participant number 28*

Bhimbetka was next at 73%, once again seeming to reflect the fact that its heritage mainly represents a stage of cultural development common to all Indians:

> "Our ancient Indian ancestors lived here over a lakh years ago in the stone age."
>
> *Bhimbetka participant number 168*

Champaner-Pavagadh was notably last, at 55.5%, which is immediately striking because one might have expected its more recent historical role to have resulted in a greater awareness of its place in national heritage. Three factors seem to have contributed to this low score. Firstly, Champaner was not felt to be old enough to contribute to a sense of national heritage, with only 29% feeling that it "demonstrated the age of our culture", compared to 51.5% at Bhimbetka and 45.5% at Sanchi. Secondly, 20% of participants did not feel that it was well known enough to be considered national heritage. Finally, 8% also considered that it was "not relevant to modern India", more than double the number at Bhimbetka (3.5%) and eight times more than at Sanchi (1%).

Visitors were then asked whether they thought the site was important for the rest of the world. Overall 89.8% answered in the affirmative, with Sanchi first at 94%, then Bhimbetka at 90%, and Champaner-Pavagadh at 87%.

At Bhimbetka, those who said that the site was important for the rest of the world because it was common human heritage were also likely to identify themselves with the people who made the paintings for the same reason ($p = 0.03448276$).

At Sanchi, those who said that the site was important for the rest of the world because it was common human heritage were also likely to say that they had learnt about local history on their visit ($p = 0.00549725$), and that the people who built the monuments were the ancestors of the people living in the area today ($p = 0.0089955$). These people were also much more likely to come from Madhya Pradesh than from other areas ($p = 0.4847576$).

Religion was found to be a correlated factor at both Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh. At Sanchi Buddhists were likely to say that the site was important for the world as it was common human heritage, while Hindus were unlikely to say so ($p = 0.02398801$). Similarly, at Champaner-Pavagadh Muslims were likely to say that the site was important for the rest of the world because 'everyone should be interested in this', while Hindus were very unlikely to give that opinion ($p = 0.007996$).

Interestingly on of the few correlations with sex was how this question was answered at Champaner-Pavagadh, with men were more likely to say that the site was not important

for the rest of the world as there were many similar sites, while women were not (p = 0.027486).

The age of the heritage in question seemed again to play a role in whether visitors judged the sites important for the rest of the world because “this is common human heritage”. Bhimbetka received the highest number of positive responses at 67%, followed by Sanchi at 57% and then Champaner-Pavagadh at 39.5% (Figure 84).

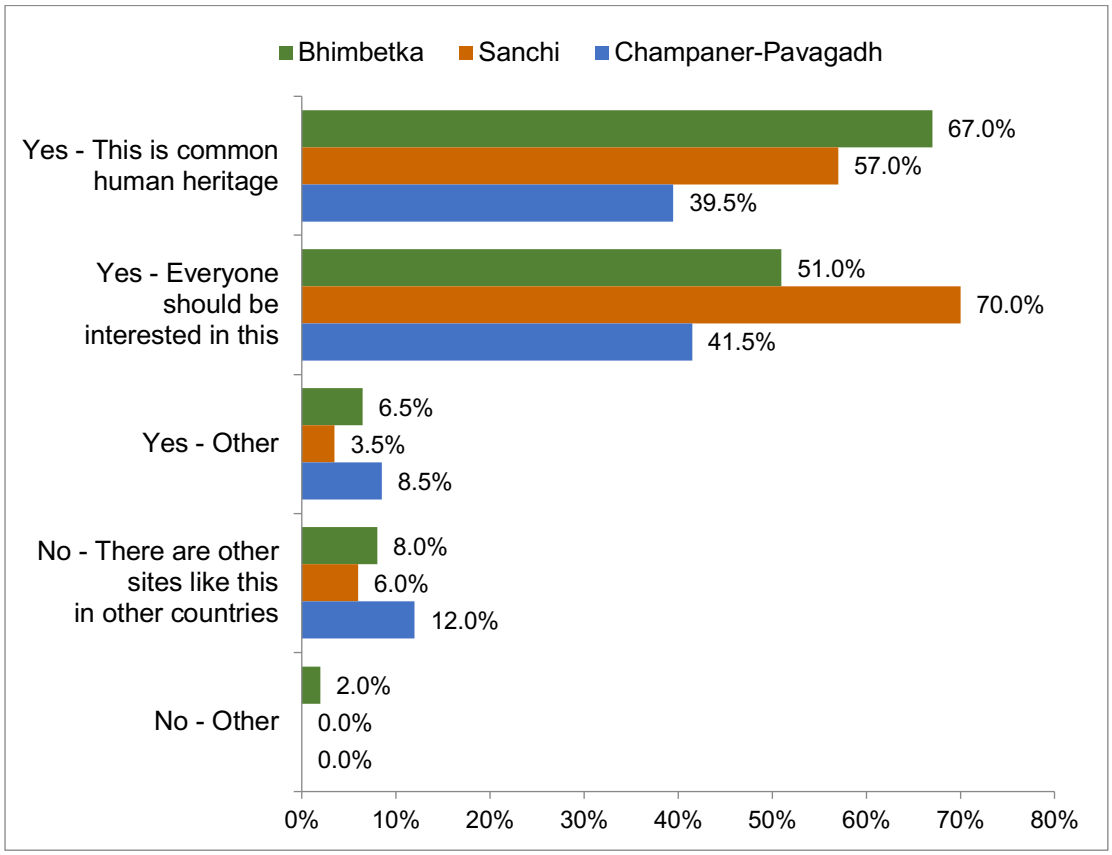



Figure 84: Visitor survey responses to question 11, “Do you think [site] is important for the rest of the world?”

The low score for Champaner-Pavagadh seemed to be correlated with negative views of Hindu participants towards Muslim culture, for example with only 41.5% of visitors agreeing that “everyone should be interested in this”, compared to 70% for Sanchi and 51% for Bhimbetka, and where Hindu participants were significantly (p = 0.007996002) less likely to have given positive answers. Hindus were particularly more likely to feel that site was not important for the rest of the world, as there “are other sites like this in other countries” (p = 0.026986507). All 12% who stated this opinion at Champaner-Pavagadh were in fact Hindu and this was similar at the other sites, with Hindus comprising all 8% at Bhimbetka as well as 5 of 6% at Sanchi.

This interpretation is given weight by some of the informal comments made by those Hindu participants who answered question this way:

> "These ruins are similar to many in Pakistan and elsewhere, mainly old mosques but not special."
>
> *Champaner-Pavagadh participant 31*

> "Temples like these are to be found everywhere in the countryside in India, and the rest of Asia in fact."
>
> *Sanchi participant 120*

Question 22 gave more insight into the salience of personal factors such as religion in the degree of identification a visitor felt to a site, and specifically the people who had created it. Asking "To what extent do you agree with the following statement about the people who made the rock paintings/built the monuments", the question asked participants to score five propositions, as summarised in Figure 85.

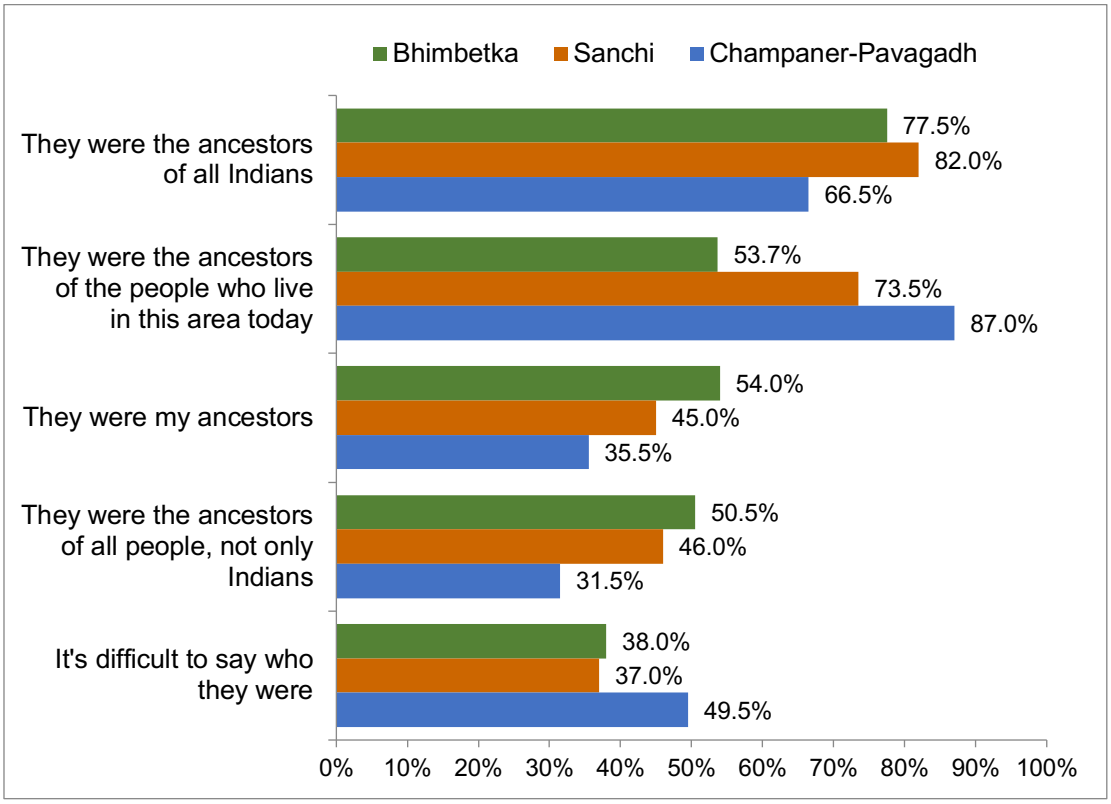



Figure 85: Summary of positive visitor survey responses (range 6-10) to question 22 "To what extent do you agree with the following statement about the people who made the rock paintings / built the monuments…" (1 = strongly disagree, 10 = strongly agree).

As can be seen above, while visitors to these sites were generally more willing to ascribe ancestry at the national level than at the local, personal or international levels, there was

variability among the sites. Each of the sub-questions is investigated in detail in the following.

The question first asked whether those who made the site features 'were the ancestors of all Indians'. A majority tended to agree at all sites, with 45% at Bhimbetka, 41% at Sanchi, and 31.5% at Champaner-Pavagadh agreeing fully, which once again is in line with the ages of the sites (see Figure 86).

Willingness to include all Indians as descendants of the sites' early inhabitants most strongly included local communities at Bhimbetka, where this was correlated with seeing the communities as important for understanding the sites ($p = 0.034482759$).

At Champaner-Pavagadh, those who said that the people who made the monuments were the ancestors of all Indians were also more likely to say that they had learnt about their own past during their visit ($p = 0.030985$) and tended to be in the younger 15-34 age group ($p = 0.015492$).

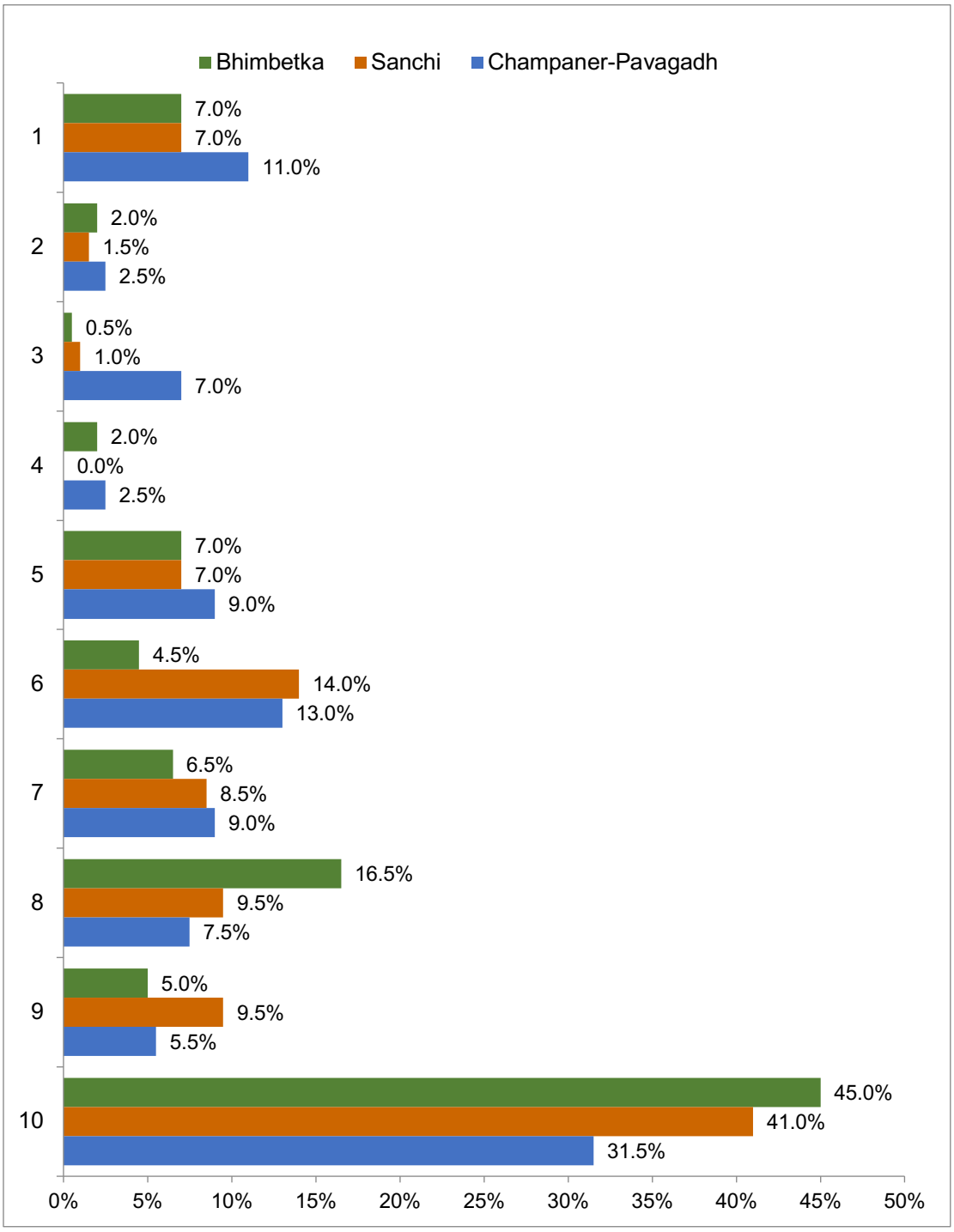



Figure 86: Visitor survey responses to question 22.1 “To what extent do you agree with the following statement about the people who made the rock paintings/built the monuments: They were the ancestors of all Indians” (1 = strongly disagree, 10 = strongly agree).

The next part of the question asked whether those who made the site features ‘were the ancestors of the people who live in this area today’ (see Figure 87). Believing those who inhabited a site in earlier times to be ancestors of the current local population did not necessarily mean that this ancestry was seen as exclusive to the locals. At Bhimbetka,

those who said that the people who made the paintings were also the ancestors of the people who live in the area today, were also likely to see them as both the ancestors of themselves ($p = 0.00049975$), of all people ($p = 0.00049975$). They were also likely to say that they had learnt about India's past through their visit ($p = 0.01249375$).

At Sanchi, those who said that the people who built the monuments were the ancestors of the people living in the area today were also very likely to say that it was important for the rest of the world because it was common human heritage ($p = 0.0089955$).

At Champaner-Pavagadh, age was once again a factor, with those in the 15-34 age group being more likely to say that the people who built the monuments were the ancestors of the people living in the area today ($p = 0.044978$). This opinion was also more likely to be held by visitors with higher education ($p = 0.014993$).

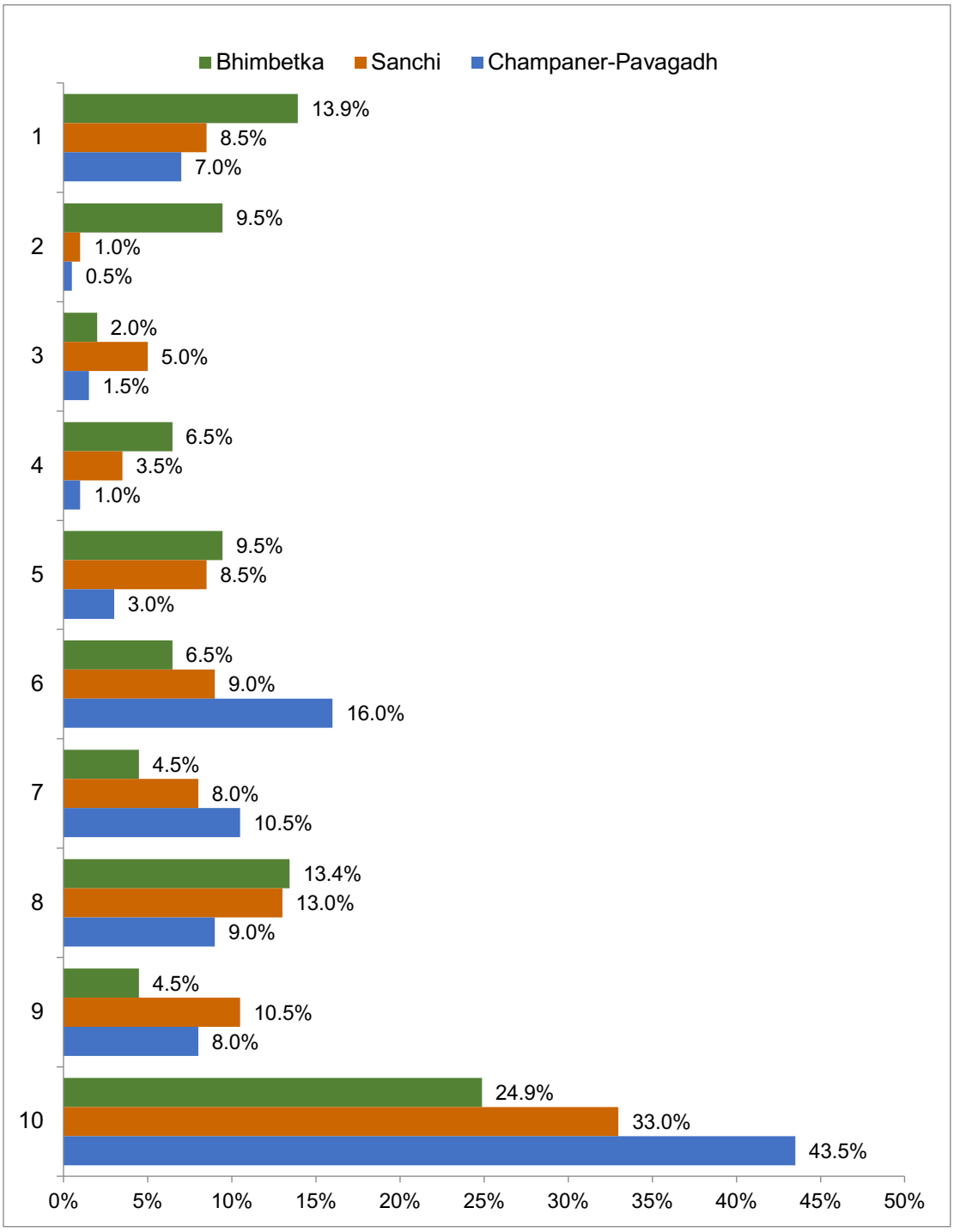



Figure 87**:** Visitor survey responses to question 22.2 "To what extent do you agree with the following statement about the people who made the rock paintings/built the monuments: They were the ancestors of the people who live in this area today" (1 = strongly disagree, 10 = strongly agree).

The next part of the question asked whether those who made the site features 'were my ancestors' (see Figure 88).

At Bhimbetka, those who felt that the people who had made the paintings were their own ancestors, were also likely to say that the local communities were important for

understanding the site (p = 0.04197901), implying a sense of shared identity with those communities also.

At Sanchi, visitors who said that the people who built the monuments were their own ancestors were also very likely to say that they had learnt specifically about their own past during the visit (p = 0.1249375). They were also likely to feel that the site was important for India's identity because 'it demonstrates the age of our culture' (p = 0.021989005).

At Champaner-Pavagadh, visitors who said that the people who built the monuments were their own ancestors were much more likely to be Muslim than Hindu (p = 0.002499) and very likely to give preservation of local cultural tradition a high priority (p = 0.003498), implying both a vested interest and a sense of cultural continuity. These visitors were also likely to have said that the site was important for India's identity because 'it is our national heritage' when answering question 11 (p = 0.004998).

The closeness with which individual visitors identified with the sites was correlated with what they said they had learnt. At Sanchi for example, visitors who said that the people who built the monuments were their own ancestors were also very likely to say that they had learnt about past society (p = 01.1649175) as well as specifically their own past during the visit (p = 0.1249375).

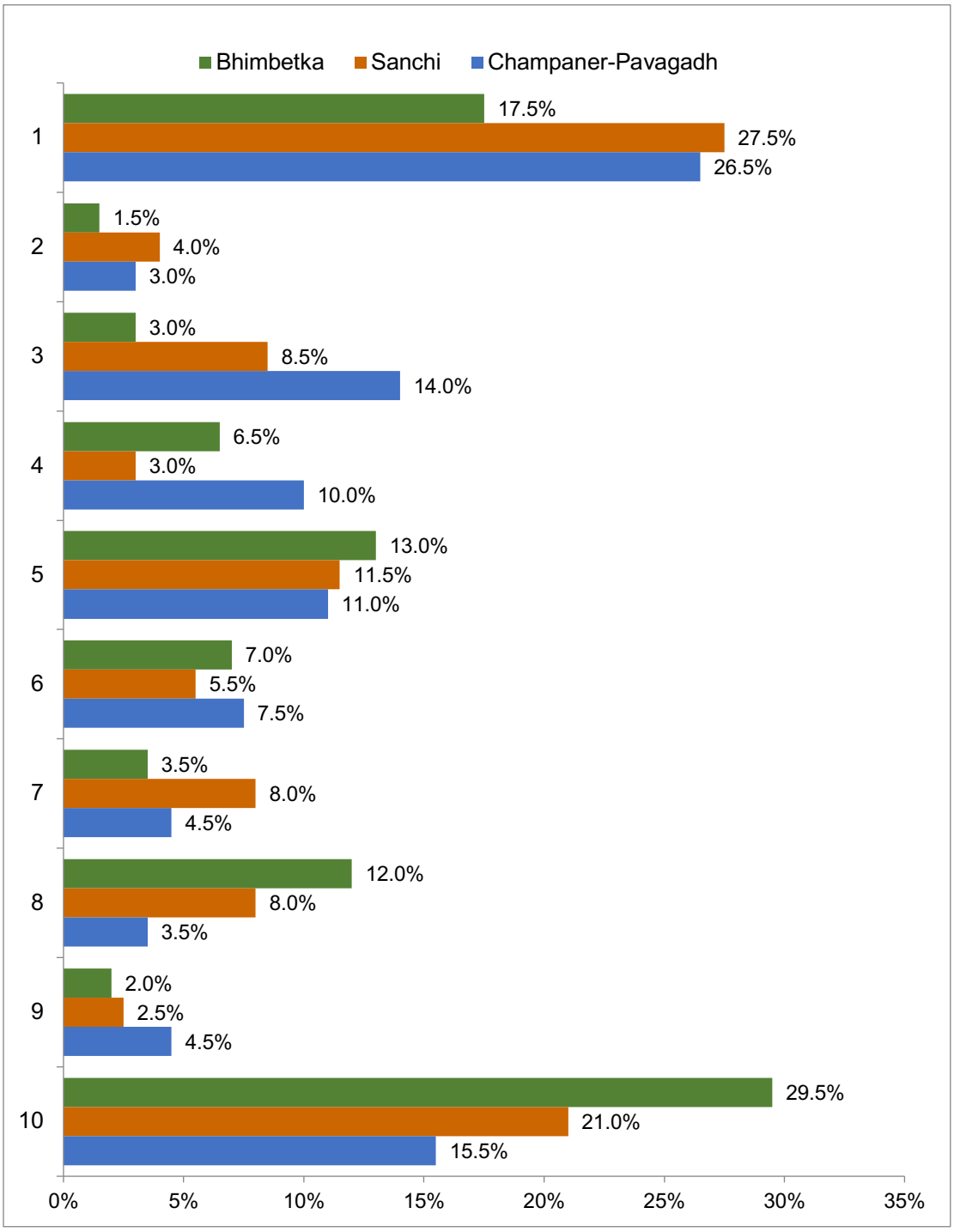



Figure 88: Visitor survey responses to question 22.3 “To what extent do you agree with the following statement about the people who made the rock paintings/built the monuments: They were my ancestors” (1 = strongly disagree, 10 = strongly agree).

The next part of the question asked whether those who made the site features ‘were the ancestors of all people, not only Indians’ (see Figure 89).

At Bhimbetka, those who felt the people who made the paintings were the ancestors of all people, also tended to value both local communities ($p = 0.02498751$) and archaeology ($p = 0.01849076$) for understanding the site.

At Sanchi, those who felt the people who made the monuments were the ancestors of all people also said that they had come to visit the site specifically rather than incidentally ($p = 0.00949525$). They also tended to say that world heritage status was important for tourism ($p = 0.031984008$), and that they would pay a higher entrance fee if the money went towards providing access or tours to local tribal villages (0.011994).

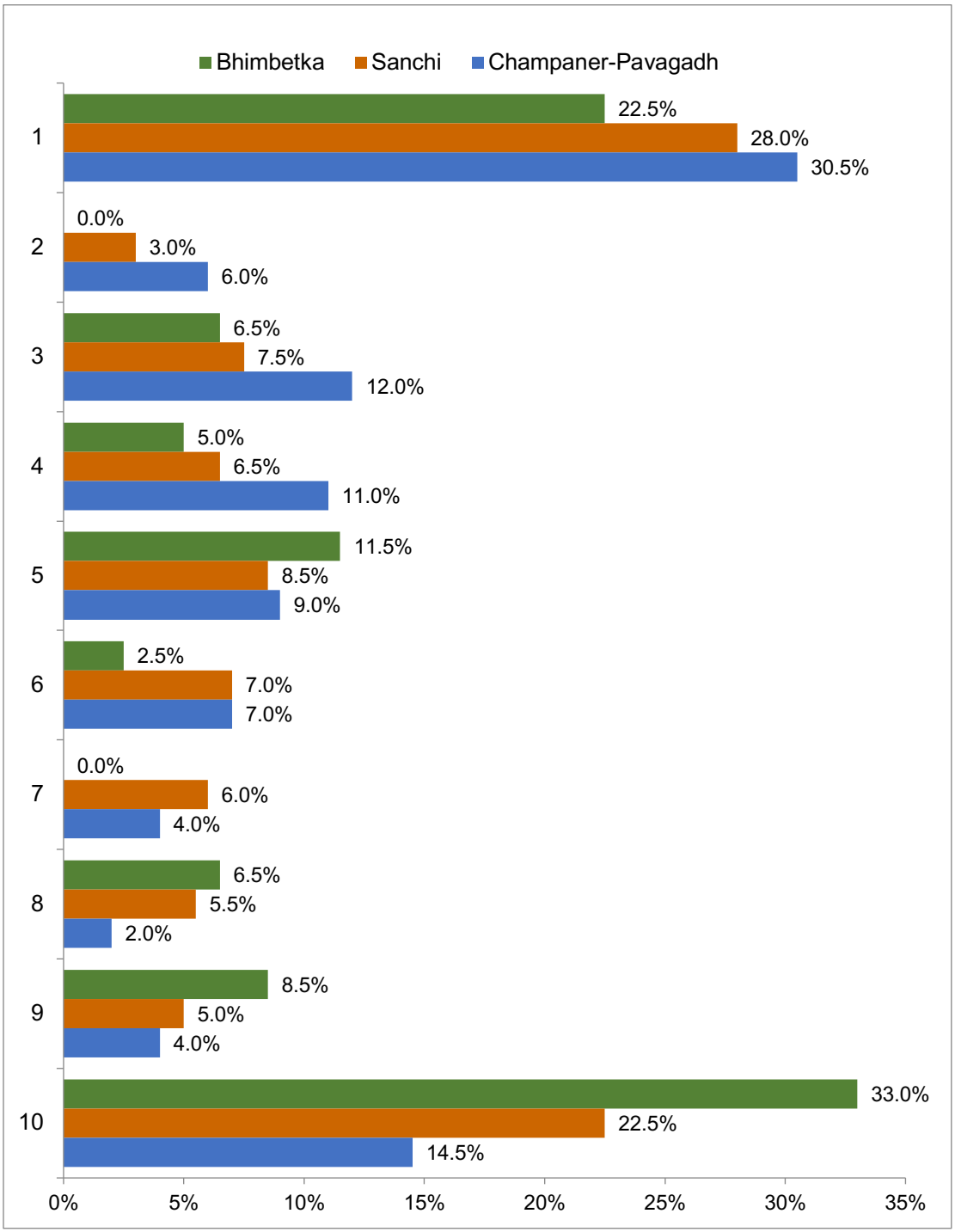



Figure 89: Visitor survey responses to question 22.4 “To what extent do you agree with the following statement about the people who made the rock paintings/built the monuments: They were the ancestors of all people, not only Indians” (1 = strongly disagree, 10 = strongly agree).

Finally, the question asked whether, in regard to those who made the site features, ‘It's difficult to say who they were’ (see Figure 90).

At Sanchi, those who said that it was difficult to say who had built the monuments were more likely to have visited as part of a bigger tour, rather than specifically (p = 0.03948026).

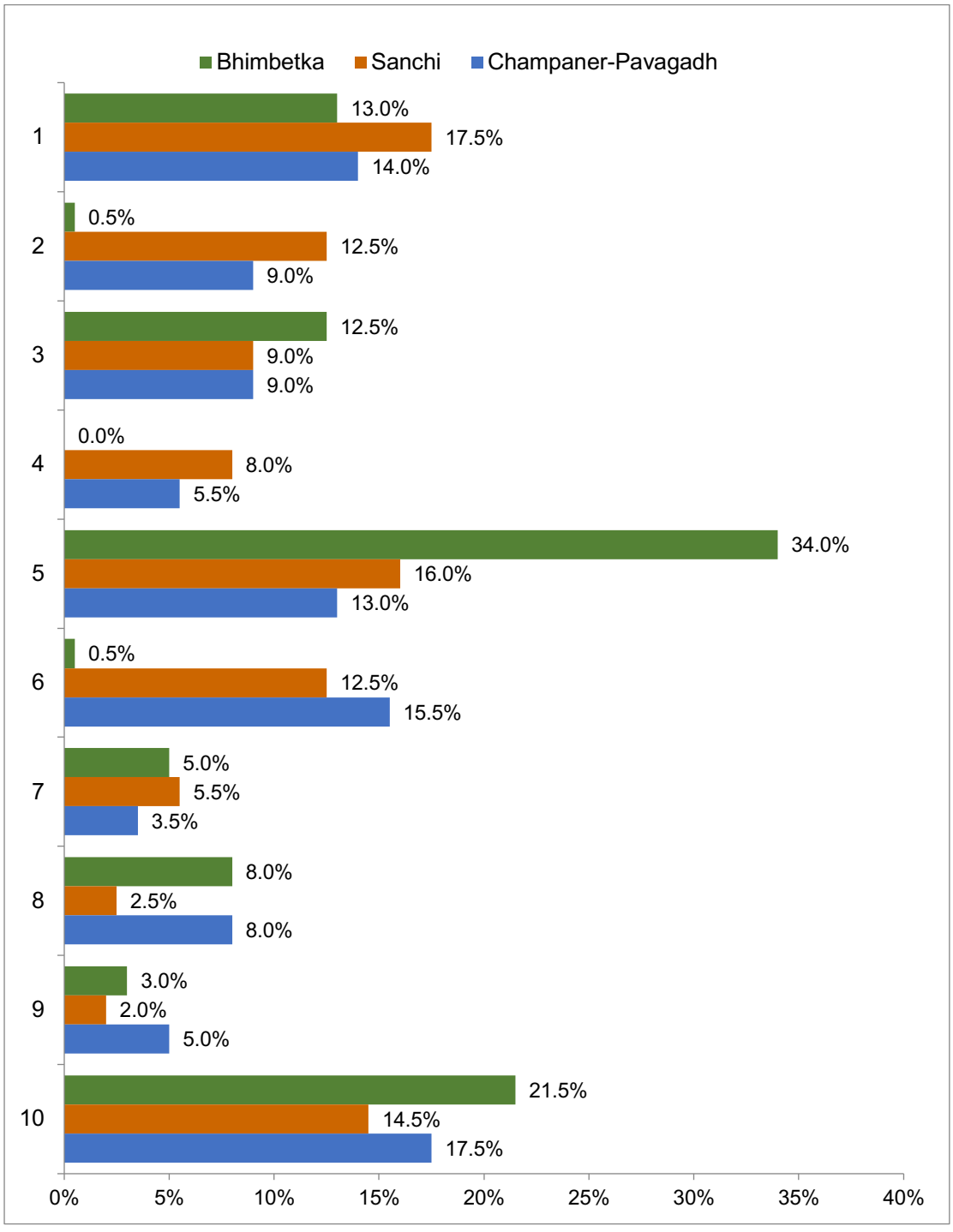



Figure 90: Visitor survey responses to question 22.5 “To what extent do you agree with the following statement about the people who made the rock paintings/built the monuments: It's difficult to say who they were” (1 = strongly disagree, 10 = strongly agree).

#### *6.3.1.2 Villages*

As with the survey of visitors, the village survey investigated whether locals perceived any personal identity connection between themselves and the original inhabitants of the sites, and looked to see whether this was correlated with the length of time their families had lived there.

The key questions in the village surveys were:

- 1: “How long has your family lived in this village?”
- 2: “Have you visited [site] before?”
- 4: “Who created the [features] at [site]?”

Two factors that might be expected to increase sensed affinity to the sites are length of time living in the area, and amount of exposure to the sites through visits. Unfortunately, due to the small sample size no statistically significant correlations could be found.

Question one asked residents ”How long has your family lived in this village?” Of the three sites, residents at Bhimbetka claimed to have lived in the area the longest, with 30% stating ‘more than 100 years’, compared to 0% at Sanchi and 5% at Champaner-Pavagadh, and a further 20% claiming 80-100 years, compared to 5% at Sanchi and 10% at Champaner-Pavagadh (see Figure 91).

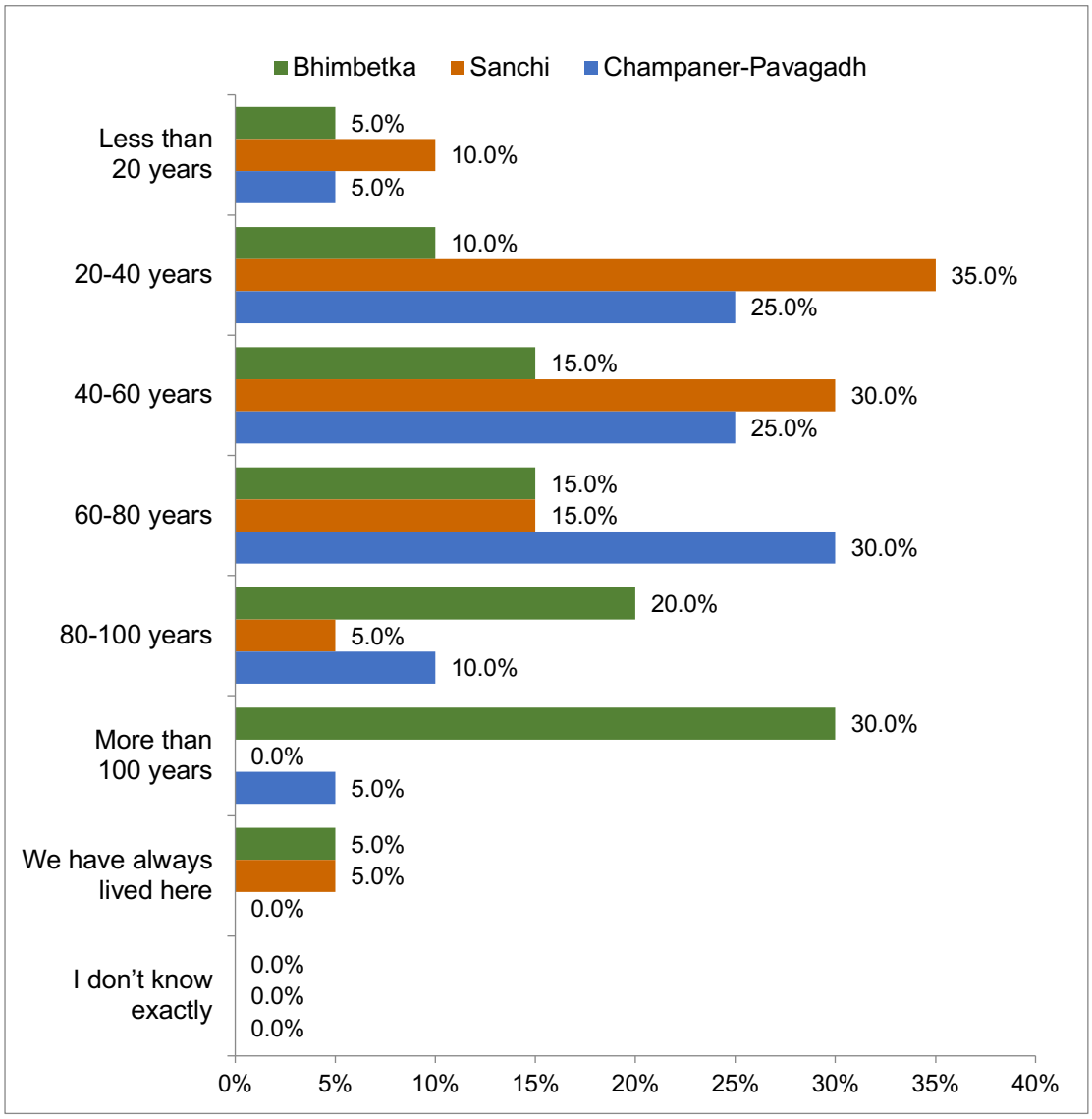



Figure 91: Village survey responses to question 1, "How long has your family lived in this village?"

All of the sites had been visited heavily by local residents, with replies of 'yes, more than 3 times' given by 95% at Champaner-Pavagadh, 80% at Bhimbetka, and 75% at Sanchi (see Figure 92). These high figures are not especially surprising, as the village of Champaner is located within the Champaner-Pavagadh site, as are the villages at Bhimbetka. Only Sanchi is full gated and thus not entirely open to the locals for visiting.

At Bhimbetka, the longer a family had lived in the area, the more frequently they reported having visited the site ($p = 0.02248876$), and most locals had visited more than 3 times.

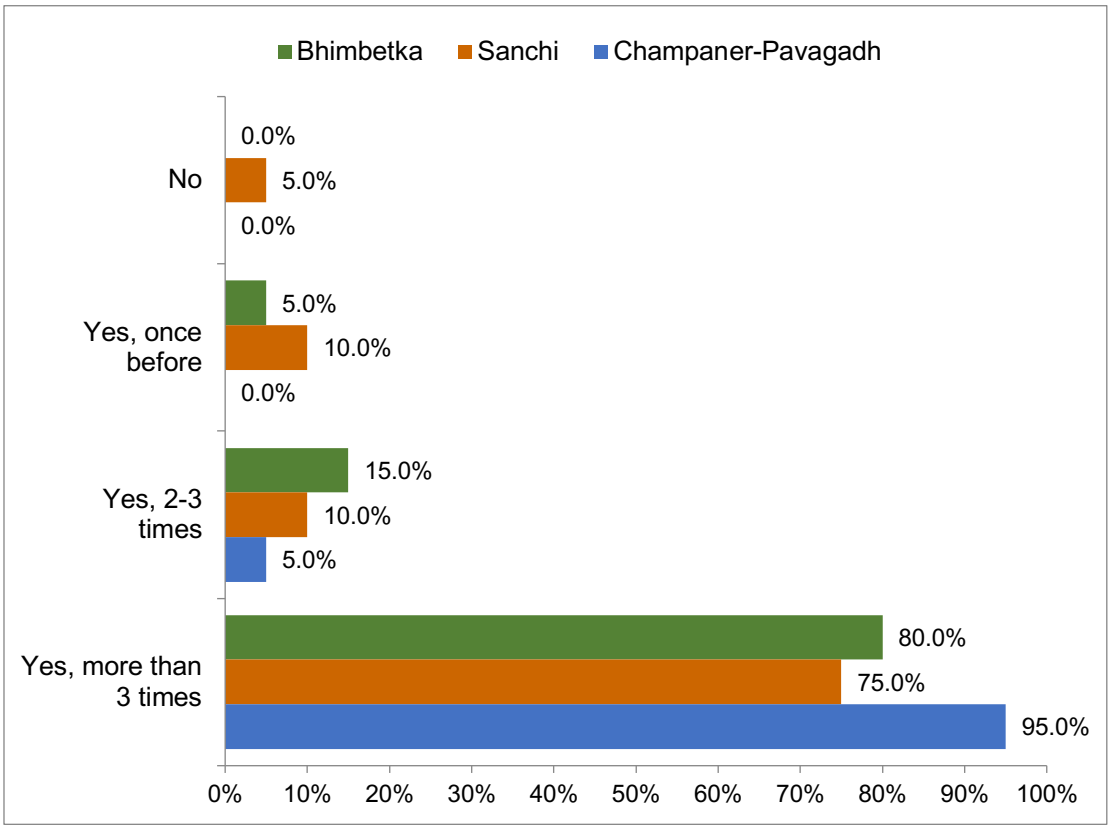



Figure 92: Village survey responses to question 2, “Have you visited [site] before?”

Question 4 of the village survey asked “who created the monuments/paintings” at each site, allowing respondents to choose from seven options, as summarised in Figure 93. The results highlight a major difference in the way locals identify with the various sites. At Bhimbetka, 75% of locals surveyed said that the paintings at the site were created by the people who live in the area today. 75% also assigned the role of creation to tribal people, while for 50% it was more specifically ‘my people’, as opposed to only 5% for each of these options at Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh.

The mean ST population of the villages surveyed is 65% (see Table 36), indicating a strong assignment of ownership to that section of the community. Because less respondents believed their own ancestors to have been the creators, and a full 75% of those surveyed were themselves tribal (see Figure 81), this indicates both a strong self-identification as well as an admission of broader ownership from the tribal members of society.

| Village | No. households | Persons | % ST |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bineka | 130 | 734 | 68% |
| Amchha Kalan | 84 | 431 | 75% |
| Bhaiyapur | 86 | 376 | 47% |
| Amchha Khurd | 17 | 76 | 68% |

Table 36: Villages in the Bhimbetka village survey, ordered by 2011 census population, showing ST status (Data derived from DCO MP 2015).

Also interesting is that while local and tribal people were listed by 75% as being creators, 50% considered the site to have been created by 'ancient people'. While this is a small sample size, it may indicate some belief in a continual living tradition at Bhimbetka, as reflected in the following informal statement:

> "भिल्ल ने प्राचीन युग में इन चित्रों को बनाया। हम खेतों पर काम करते हैं लेकिन हम वही लोग हैं"
>
> "Bhils made these paintings in ancient times. We work on farms but we are the same people."
>
> *Bhimbetka participant 7*

None of the participants at Bhimbetka with ST status said that the site was important for India, also perhaps indicating a strongly local identification with the site.

The situation was different at Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh, where only 5% of respondents chose the three categories of "my people", "the people who live in the areas today" or "tribal people". Interestingly, at Champaner 70% of locals surveyed thought the monuments to have been created by 'ancient people', despite it being a relatively young site, and this may be related to the relative lack of public information and education about the site. At Sanchi the most popular response was 'priests' at 60%, reflecting the obvious primary religious nature of the site. Nonetheless, those with ST status were highly likely to say that the monuments had been created by tribal people ($p = 0.01949025$) and that the age of the monuments was much older (10,000 years, $p = 0.003998$), which could also be seen as a degree of identifying with the site.

While the surveyed population was very small and statistical inferences thus difficult to make, tribal identity did still seem to play a role at Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh. Only one person at each site said that the site was created by tribal people, but in both cases they were ST members themselves. Similarly, at Champaner-Pavagadh the only person that said the site had been created by "my people" was also an ST member.

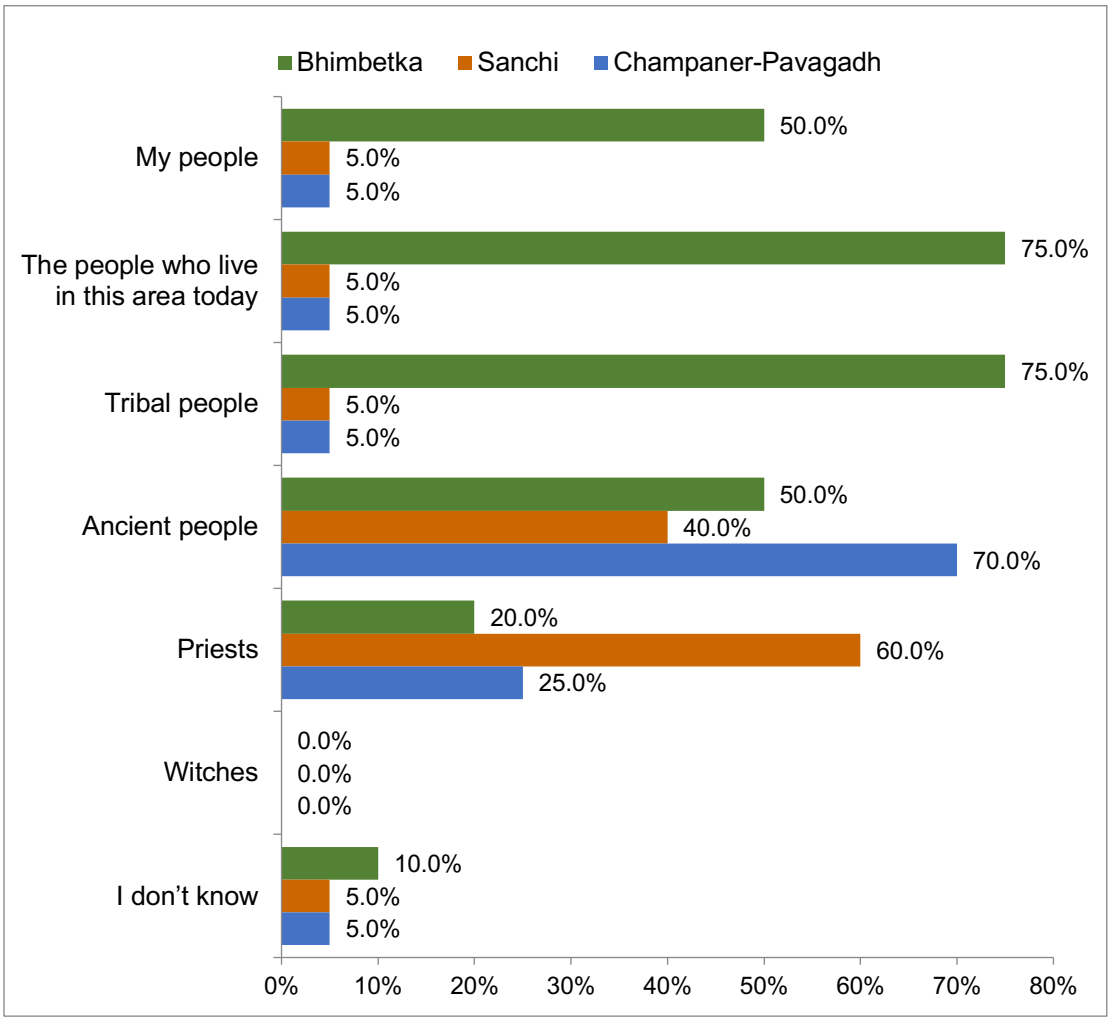



Figure 93: Village survey responses to question 4, "Who created the monuments/ paintings at [site]?"

#### *6.3.1.3 Summary*

The visitor survey showed that overall, visitors to all sites did clearly relate to them in terms of identity. In particular a solid majority of visitors to all sites said they did identify with the people who had lived there in the past, and that the sites were important for India's identity, and important for the rest of the world. The way in which they related was found to be correlated with religious affiliation, place of origin, education and age. The age of the sites and the amount of interpretive and educational material provided on-site were also correlated with visitors' relations to them. The situation at Champaner was the most complex, with both religion and information provided on-site being strongly correlated with differences in how visitors related and identified.

It is tempting to read religious bias into many of the results, particularly at Champaner-Pavagadh when identification at the national level seems low for example, but due to the

limitations of the sample size it's not always possible to find a statistically significant correlation. Nonetheless, Hindus were significantly less likely to regard Champaner-Pavagadh as common human heritage, to say that the site was national heritage, or that people should be proud of the site, that the site was important for the rest of the world because 'everyone should be interested in this', that site was important for the rest of the world, or to feel that the people who built the monuments were their own ancestors. While at Sanchi a significant number of Hindus also stated that the site did not represent common heritage, the overwhelming number of negative correlations at Champaner-Pavagadh seems to indicate a clear religious bias here in particular, likely related to the communal history of the area.

This is also an example both of self-identity being formed by or in reaction to the Other, and of aiming to undermine or negate the identity of the Other, as described by Bhabha (2004, 67).

Visitors' place of origin was correlated with how closely they related to the sites, particularly at Bhimbetka and Sanchi. At both sites coming from the local area was correlated with identifying with the people who lived there in the past and linking the local communities with the site, and at Sanchi this was also linked with the number of visits made. In this case the identification seems to be less outward-looking and more based upon continual reinforcement from contact with the local environment, in line with Rustin (1991, 51).

Both education and age showed up as factor in how people related to the sites at Champaner-Pavagadh only. Those with a higher education background were likely to link local communities to the site and say that they themselves identified with those who had built it because they had also studied subjects like archaeology or history. Only those in the younger 15-34 age group were willing to state that those who built the monuments there were either the ancestors of all Indians, or of those living in the area today.

Independently of demographics, visitors also seemed to relate differently to the sites based on the extent of their antiquity. Willingness to say that the creators of the sites' features were the ancestors of all Indians or that the sites were common human heritage increased with the age of the site.

The amount of information and interpretation available on and off the sites also seems to have made a difference in how visitors related. Visitors to Sanchi who said they had learnt about the past during their visit were also likely to personally identify with those who built the monuments. At Champaner-Pavagadh the opposite effect was seen, where a relative

lack of on-site interpretation seemed to be an equal or compounding factor along with religious background leading to negative views of the site. A much higher overall level of identification could have been expected at Champaner-Pavagadh due to the mixed cultural background of the site, and the fact that Hindus constantly downplayed the importance of the site indicates that this mixed background is not well explained and presented. Along with negative comments recorded about the organization of the site, visitors stated that it was unimportant for India's identity because 'most people don't know about it'.

The village survey results contrasted starkly with those of the visitors. Due to the much smaller sample size, it was unfortunately very difficult to find statistical correlations, but the surveys showed that local communities identified strongly with the site at Bhimbetka, but much less so at Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh. Those who had lived in the area longest had visited the site more often, but most importantly tribal identity was much stronger at Bhimbetka, with an associated belief that local people and scheduled tribe members were most related to those who had created the paintings on the site, and that there was a degree of continuity from that population to the modern one. This seems to be an example of a local community giving priority to tribal identity in a context that allows them to gain prominence (McCall. et al. 1978, 41).

### 6.3.2 Research Question 2: How do Indian World Heritage sites help visitors and local communities to understand the past?

The surveys contained seven key questions specifically designed to understand the way in which both visitors and the local communities related to the World Heritage sites in terms of understanding the past, plus numerous additional questions which added context or touched on the question.

#### *6.3.2.1 Visitors*

For the visitor surveys the key questions were the following:

- 11: "Do you think [site] is important for the rest of the world?"
- 12: "Did you know that [site] is a World Heritage site?"
- 13: "Is it important that [site] is a World Heritage site?"
- 14: "What do you understand by 'World Heritage'?"
- 20: "How important are the following things for understanding this site?"
- 24: "How long ago were the [features] at [site] created?"
- 25: "What have you learnt by visiting [site] today?"

The following sections will analyse the answers to each of these questions individually, looking at correlations with the demographic data and other questions, followed by a summary that combines the results to concisely answer the research question.

Some correlations with survey question 11 ("Do you think [site] is important for the rest of the world?"), analysed as part of research question 1, were also relevant here, linking the degree to which participants assessed the broader importance of the site with how they learnt from it.

Provision of informative and interpretive information on-site was seen as important at Bhimbetka. Visitors who thought the site important for the world because everyone should be interested, would also be willing to pay higher entrance fees for guides ($p = 0.04947526$) and for a museum ($p = 0.01549225$), implying that they value the site and would like the means to understand it better.

The degree to which visitors felt Sanchi was important as common human heritage was correlated with how likely they were to say that they had learnt about local history on their visit ($p = 0.00549725$). This may indicate a greater willingness to learn about sites if their broader importance is judged to be high.

The next three questions attempted to understand whether World Heritage status helped visitors to appreciate the significance of each site, and thus to better understand both it and the time period in which it was formed. Question 12 checked whether this was a factor at all by asking if they knew about the status. Question 13 asked then whether it was important, and question 14 asked for a definition of World Heritage.

When asked whether they knew of a site's World Heritage status, 86% and 88.5% of visitors to Bhimbetka and Sanchi respectively said they were aware, while the number was lower at Champaner-Pavagadh at 70.5% (see ). Some of this difference can be attributed to the fact that Champaner attracted some incidental visitors to the archaeological site who were otherwise there for pilgrimage. This result also lends more weight to observations that the World Heritage status of the site was not so well signposted, and with multiple points of entry to the site it was much easier to miss.

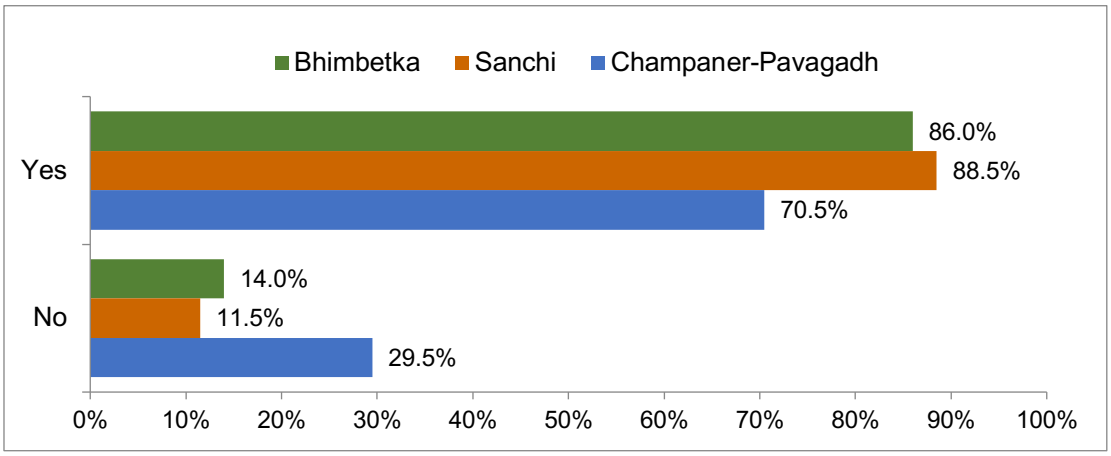



Figure 94: Visitor survey responses to question 12, “Did you know that [site] is a World Heritage site?”

When asked whether World Heritage status was important for the sites, visitors to Sanchi were most likely to say that it was important for India (78%), followed by Bhimbetka at 69% and Champaner-Pavagadh at 53% (see Figure 95). Again, visitors to Sanchi were most likely to say that the site’s World Heritage status was important because of tourism (62.5%), followed by Bhimbetka at 54.5% and Champaner-Pavagadh at 45.5%. Religion was also a factor at Champaner-Pavagadh, where Muslims were likely to say that world heritage status was important for India ($p = 0.04048$) and for tourism ($p = 0.015492$) while Hindus were not.

Knowledge of a site’s World Heritage status was an indicator that visitors would also learn more about the site. Visitors to Sanchi for example who said they knew the status were also very likely to say that they had learnt about cultural heritage during their visit ($p = 0.03148426$), and similarly those who said the status was important were likely to say that they had learnt about India’s past ($p = 0.01949026$).

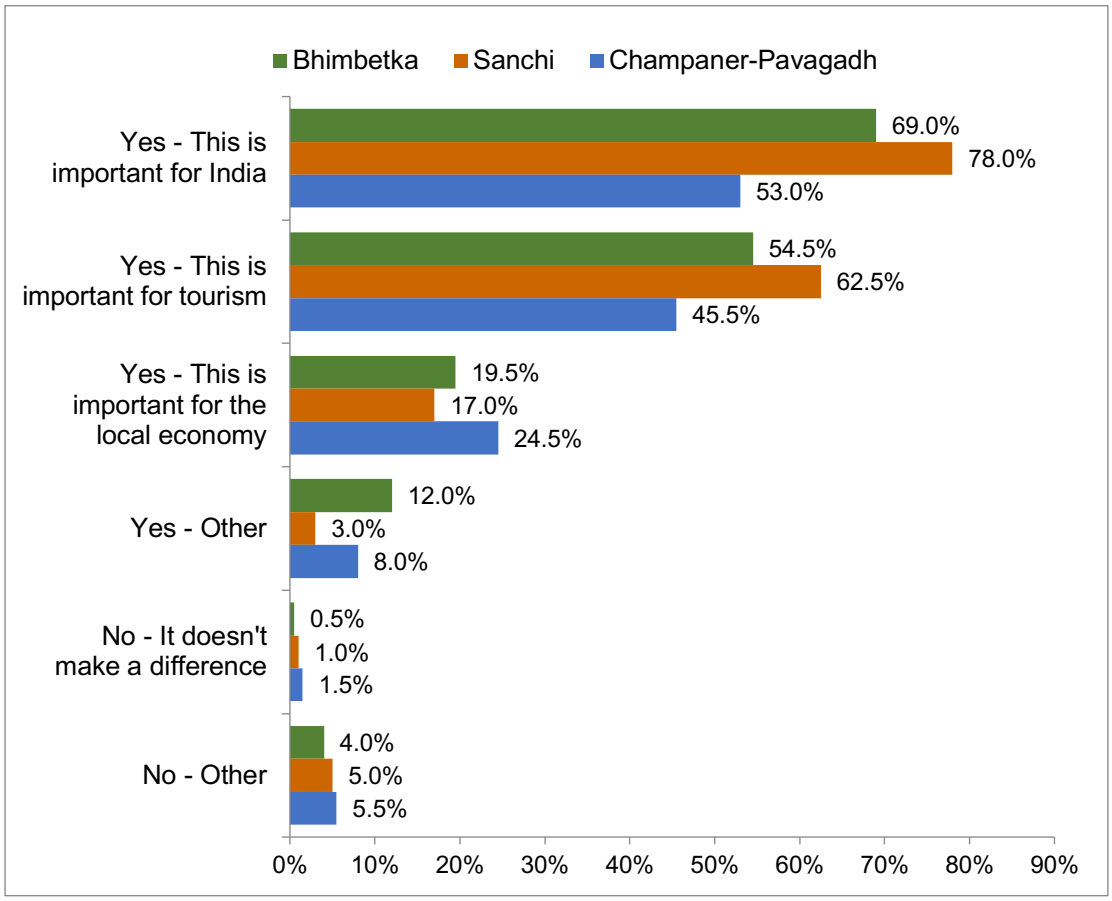



Figure 95: Visitor survey responses to question 13, “Is it important that [site] is a World Heritage site?”

The survey then attempted to determine visitors’ understanding of the term ‘World Heritage’ and by extension how they considered the sites to be valued, with an open-ended question with the results coded according to the most common categories of responses. The responses at each of the sites were reasonably similar, with the exception of Bhimbetka where more people declined to answer the question, presumably because of its difficulty. The most popular answers were that It described places that were important or interesting for all, unique or special, and then to be protected (see Figure 96).

Significantly, an average of 16% of visitors to the sites either did not know or were unwilling to provide a response to this question, and this was 21% at Bhimbetka. To some extent this demonstrates the fact that while the world heritage status of each site was signposted, none of them went to great lengths to extol the meaning and value of this. A further reason for the higher level of ignorance at Bhimbetka could be the number of people who came simply to enjoy the natural environment for picnics etc.

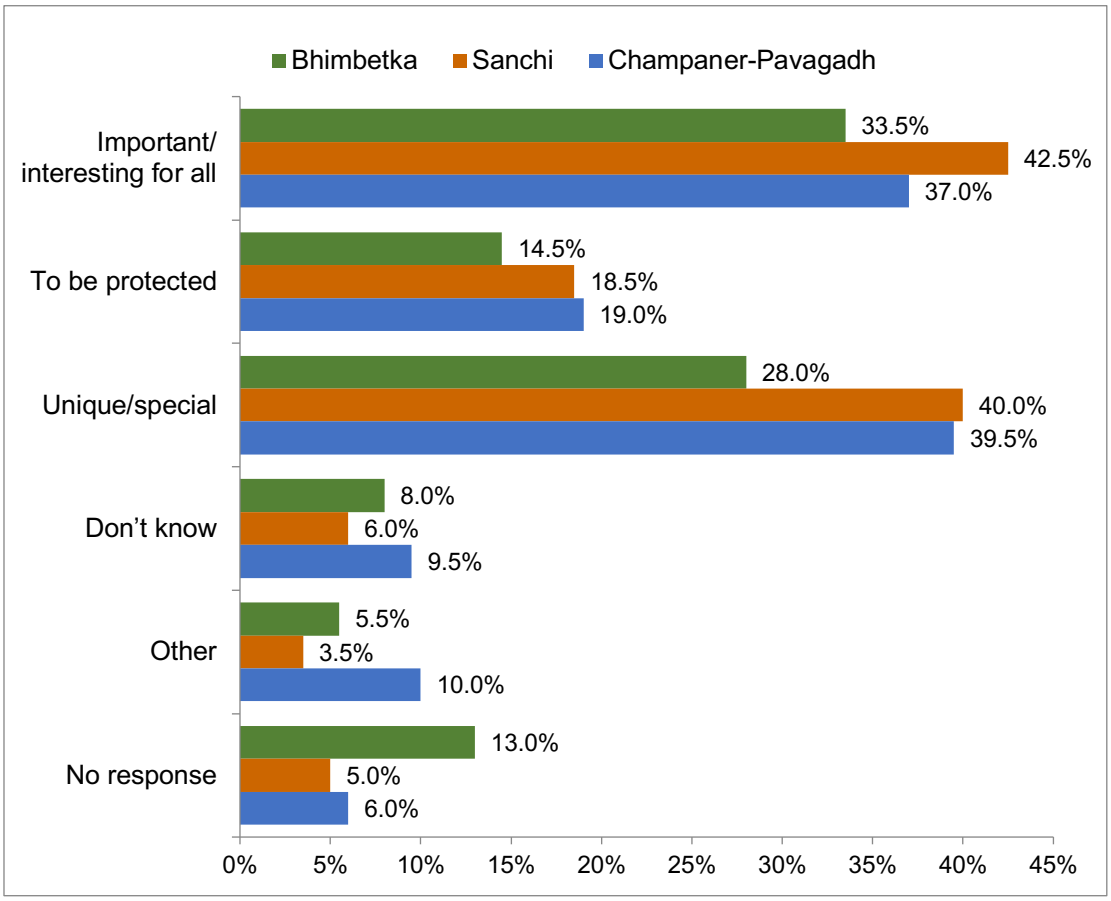



Figure 96: Visitor survey responses to question 14, "What do you understand by 'World Heritage'?"

Visitors were then asked to say how important they thought that each of the following things were for understanding the sites: the features, the natural environment, the local communities and the archaeological excavations (see Figure 97, Figure 98, Figure 99 and Figure 100). The responses given to a certain extent reflect the degree to which each World Heritage site made the visitors aware of these aspects and how they were relevant.

Unsurprisingly the main features of each site (i.e. rock paintings or monuments) were consistently given the highest importance, with 100% of visitors giving them a score of 5-10, and 81% a score of 8-10. This was followed by the natural environment, with 96% of visitors giving it an importance of 5-10, and 65% a score of 8-10.

Local communities received the lowest importance rankings, with an average of 65% placing them at 5 or above, and only 38% at 8 or above. The local communities at Sanchi were given significantly lower importance than the other two sites, at only 45% above 5 and 20% above 8.

While archaeology fared better than local communities, it was also ranked as of lower importance with an average of 87% giving it a rank of 5-10, and 68% a rank of 8-10.

The degree of visitors' appreciation for the rock art at Bhimbetka was strongly linked to vocation, where those with professional occupations ('other') were much more likely to consider it as important for understanding the site ($p = 0.00149925$).

Religion was a factor in how visitors learnt about the sites. At Sanchi for example, Buddhists were more likely to say that the local communities were important for understanding the site ($p = 0.01649175$). Similarly, at Champaner Muslims were significantly likely to say that local communities were important, while Hindus were unlikely to say so ($p = 0.001499$).

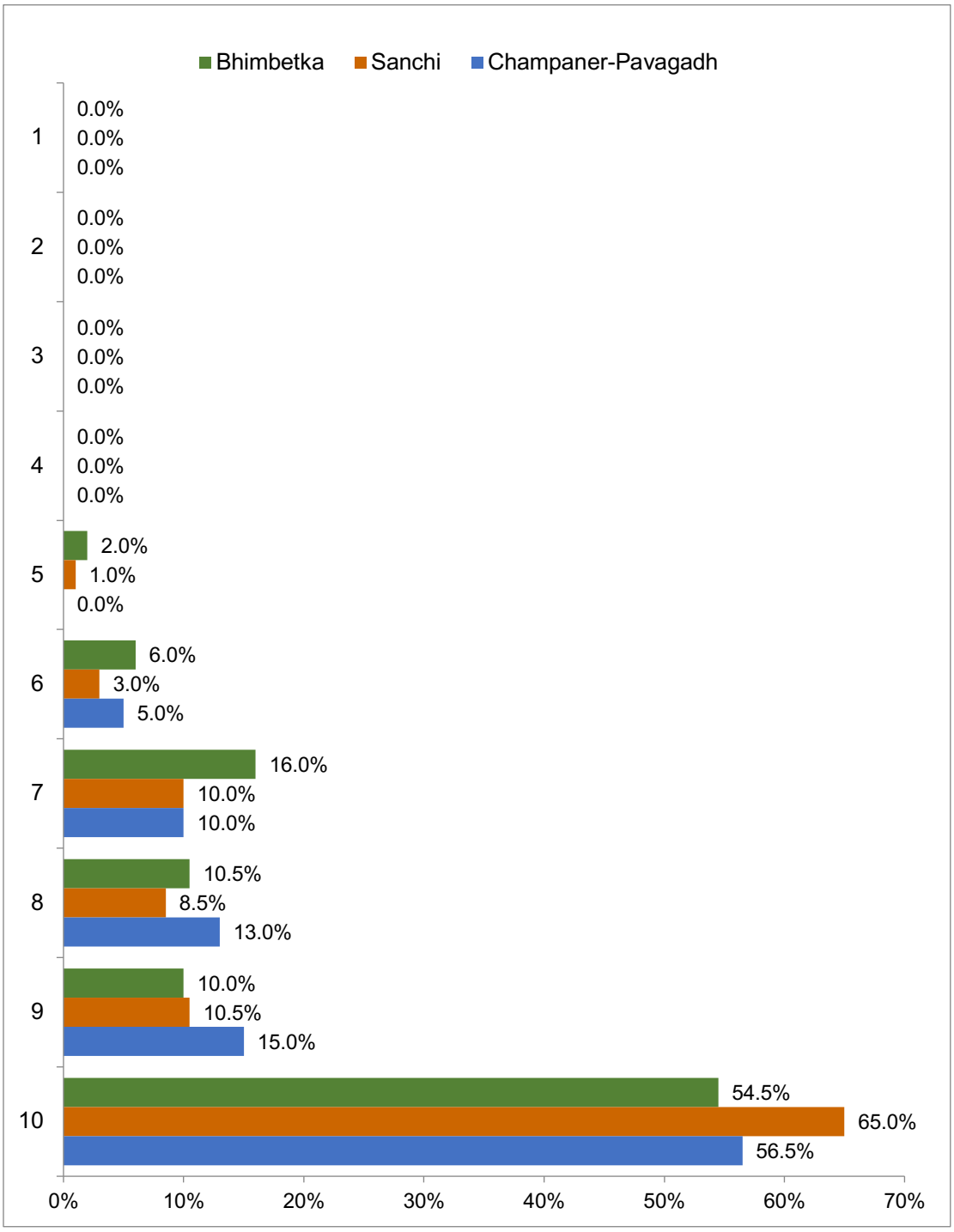



Figure 97: Visitor survey responses to question 20, part 1 “How important are the following things for understanding this site? – the [features]”

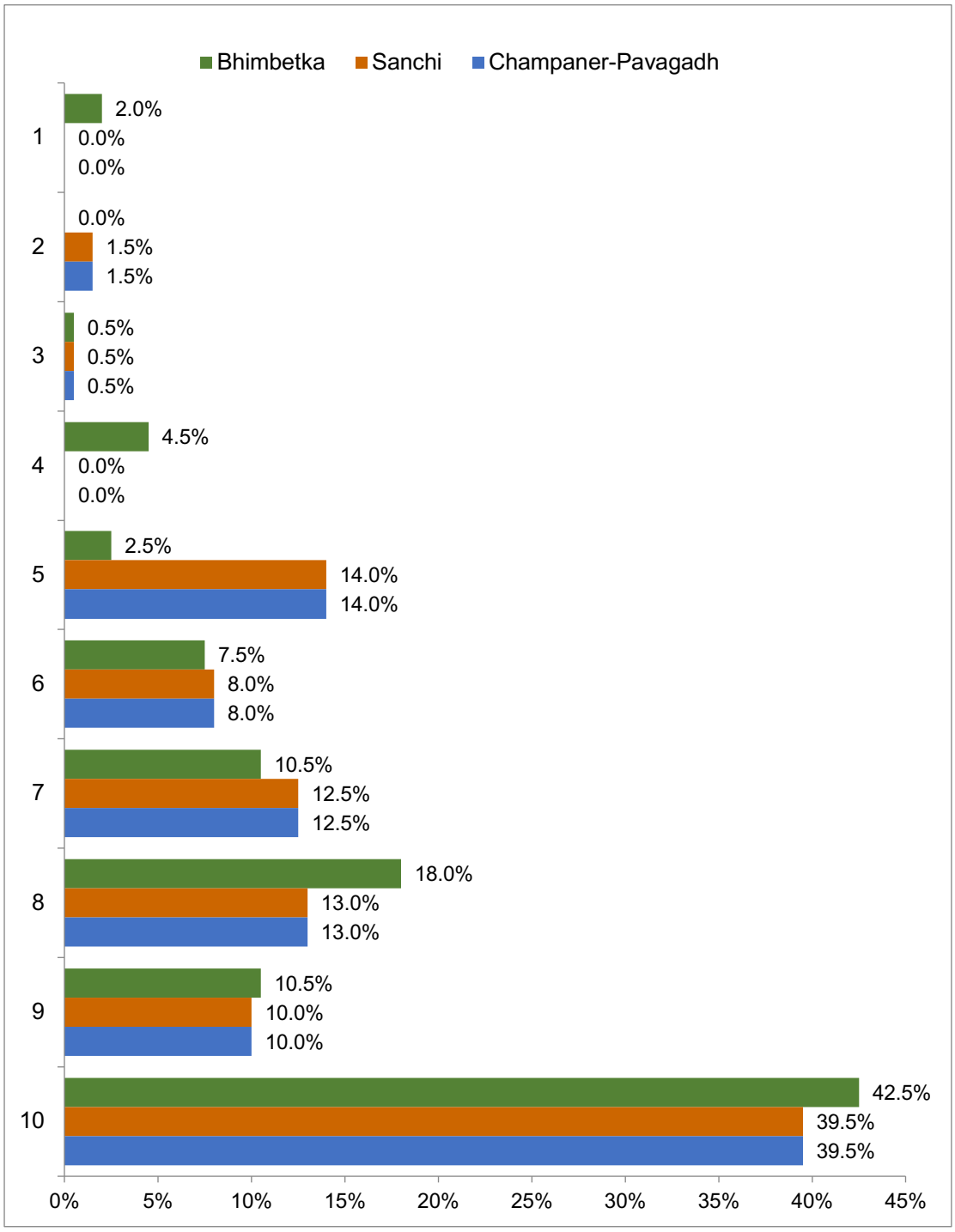



Figure 98: Visitor survey responses to question 20, part 2 “How important are the following things for understanding this site? – the natural environment”

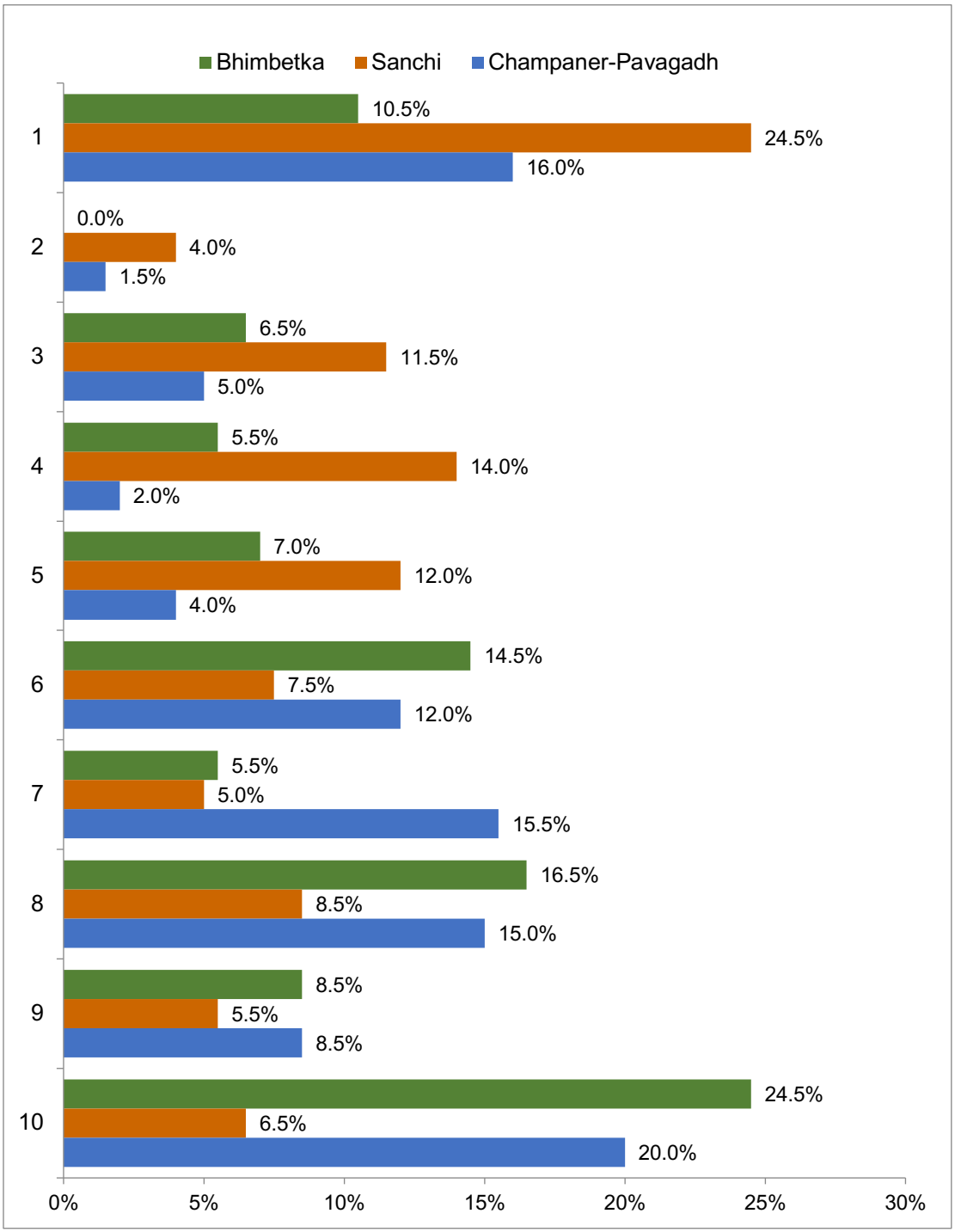



Figure 99: Visitor survey responses to question 20, part 3 “How important are the following things for understanding this site? – the local communities”

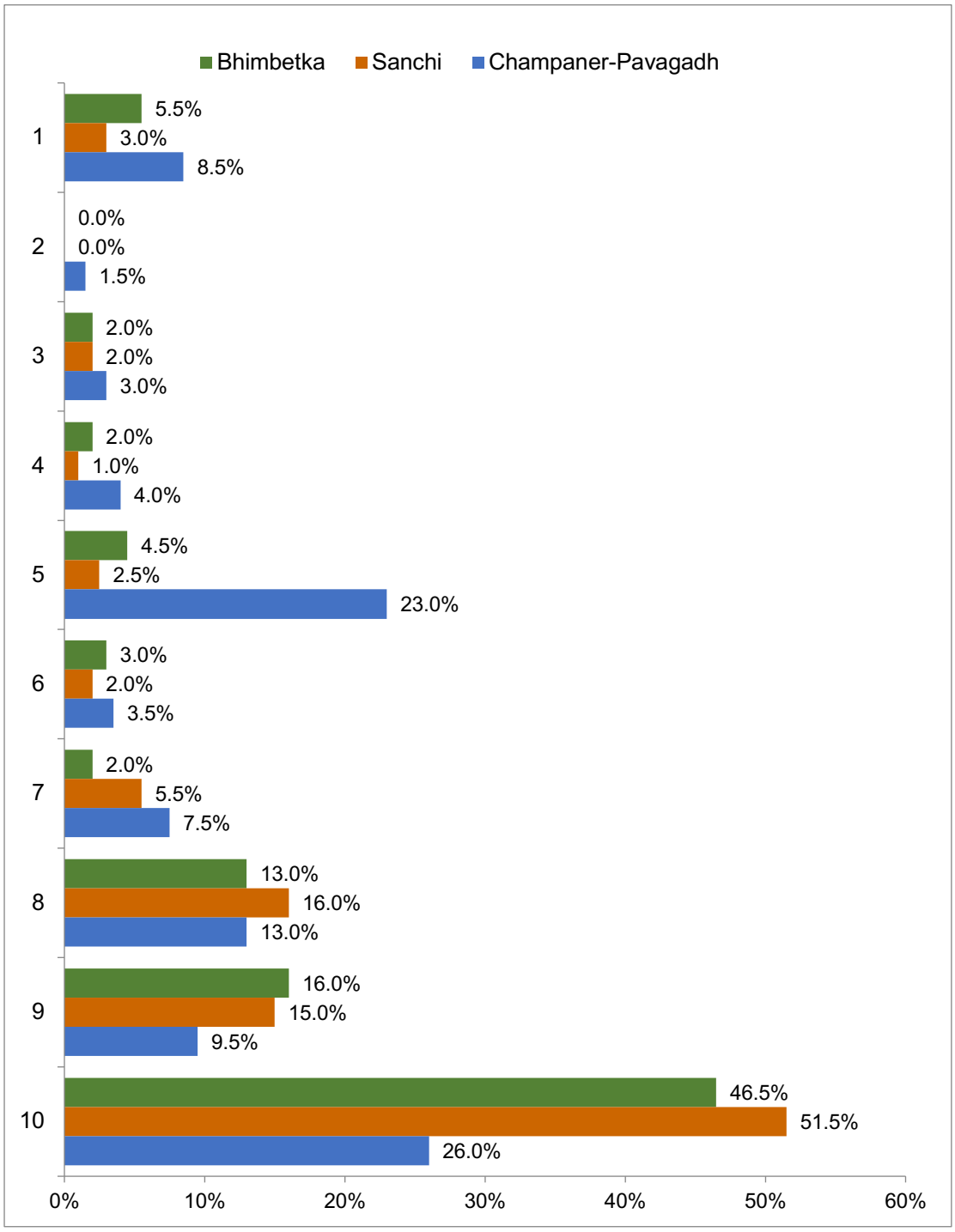



Figure 100: Visitor survey responses to question 20, part 4 “How important are the following things for understanding this site? – archaeological excavations”

The survey assessed whether visitors had seen and understood factual information about the sites by asking them to give the age of the main features. Visitors to Bhimbetka were most accurate, with 37.5% being correct or close, followed by Sanchi at 33% and Champaner-Pavagadh on 21.5%. This seems to mirror expectations based on the presence of information at key points on sites, such as at entrances and in front of important features. Champaner-Pavagadh was particularly poor in this area, with some

monuments having badly defaced signs (for example see Figure 101) or no information apart from a name, and there being no single entrance to the site through which exposure to information could be controlled, and this seems to be reflected in the less accurate knowledge of visitors there.


Figure 101: An example of signage condition at Champaner-Pavagadh.

How well visitors understood the age of the sites was linked to how broadly important they considered them (see Figure 102). At Bhimbetka for example, those who were significantly better at estimating the age of the rock paintings were also very likely to say that the site was important for the rest of the world as common human heritage ($p = 0.00149925$).

Visitors who came to the sites for the purpose of learning tended to learn the date significantly more accurately than those who did not, implying that the latter group do not make the effort to educate themselves to the same degree while at the site. Those who consistently gave the correct dates for Bhimbetka for example, also said that they were visiting due to ‘historical interest’ ($p = 0.03198401$) and ‘cultural history’ ($p = 0.0049975$). Similarly, at Bhimbetka those who said they had learnt about archaeology on the site also gave accurate dates ($p = 0.0069965$).

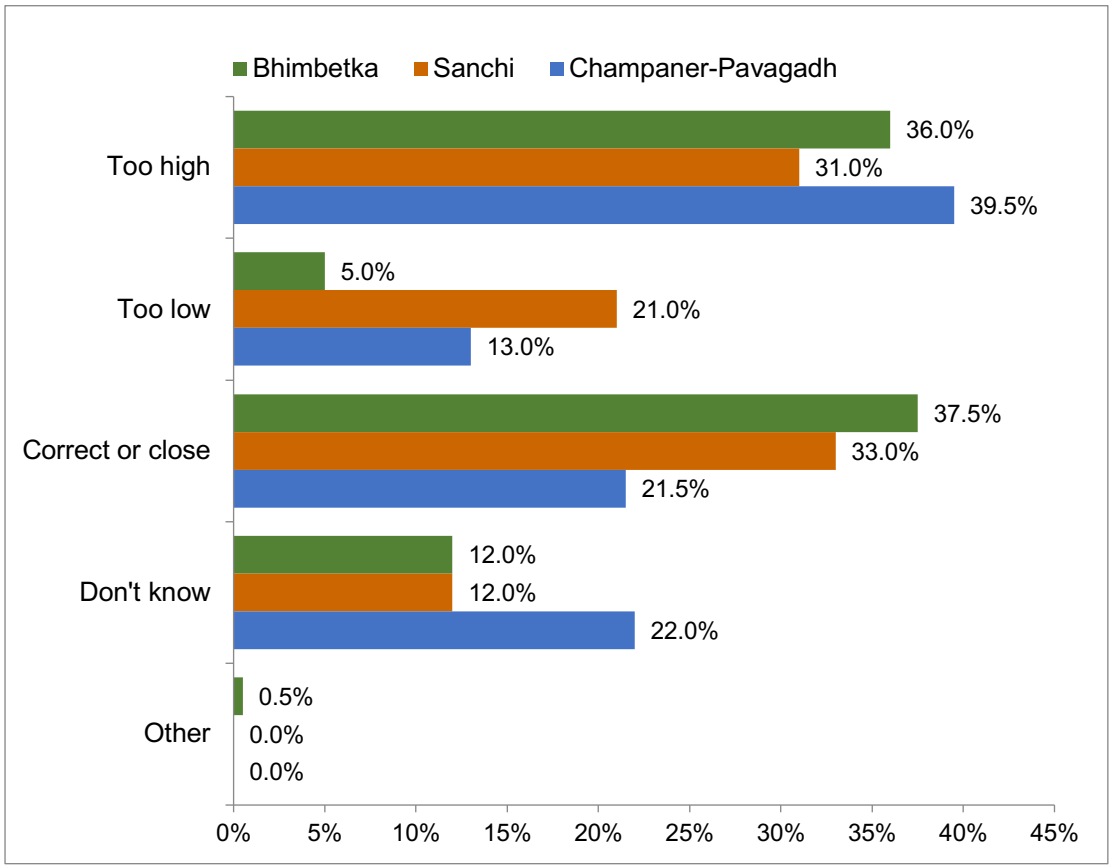



Figure 102: Visitor survey responses to question 24, "How long ago were the [features] at [site] created?"

Finally, visitors were asked to list the things they had learnt about the sites, with different results at each (see Figure 104). At each of the sites the dominant formative culture scored highly, with 74% saying they learnt about Islamic culture at Champaner-Pavagadh, 64.5% about Buddhist culture at Sanchi, and 44% about prehistoric culture at Bhimbetka. The lower figure at Bhimbetka likely represents the greater difficulty for modern visitors to imagine much earlier cultures, while Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh are more recent and therefore relatable. This was reflected in the following visitor comment:

> "Hard to know how the primitive cave dwellers lived or who they were. Most paintings are of animals only."
>
> *Bhimbetka participant number 157*

It was mainly at Bhimbetka that archaeology had a significant impact on visitors, with 39% saying that they had learnt about this, compared to just 8% at Sanchi and 3.5% at Champaner-Pavagadh. This is largely due to the fact that the excavations are still visible and interpreted at Bhimbetka (for example see Figure 103), whereas they are less mentioned at the other sites and have been covered up at Champaner-Pavagadh.

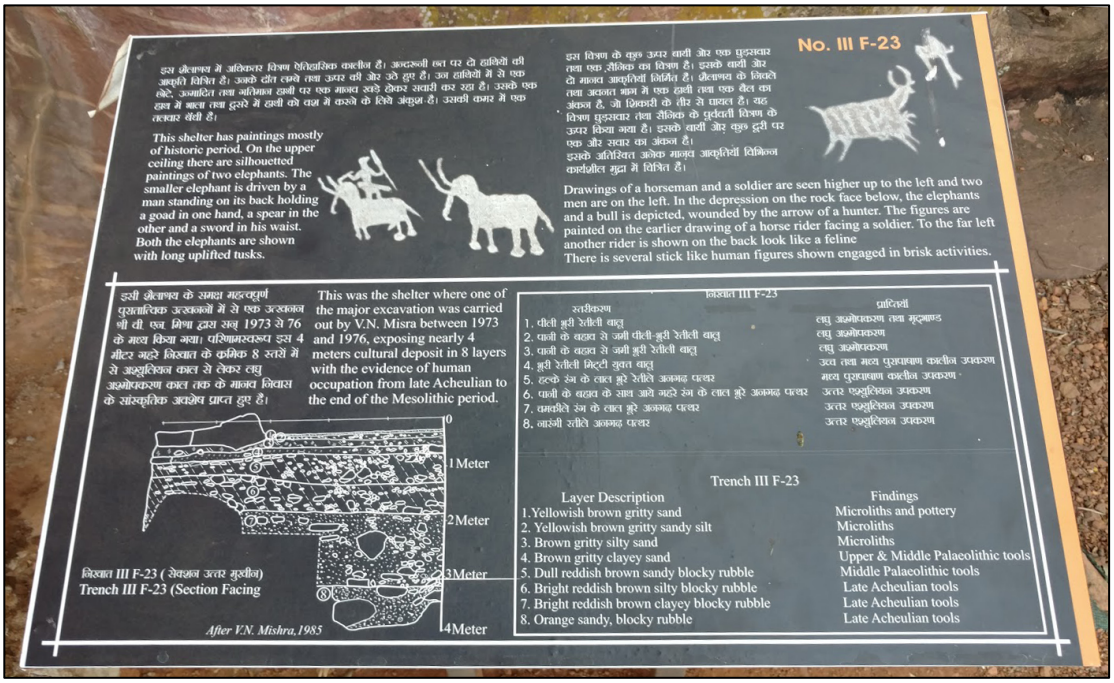



Figure 103: Signage with interpretation of an excavation at Bhimbetka.

Visitors to all three sites said that they had learnt about India's past though this was strongest at Sanchi (46.5%), Bhimbetka (41%) and then Champaner-Pavagadh (36.5%).

It was at Bhimbetka that the most visitors claimed to have learnt about their own past at 34%, followed by Champaner-Pavagadh at 24.5% and Sanchi at 16.5%. This may reflect the fact that prehistoric culture is more easily seen as universal, while identification with Islamic and Buddhist culture requires a contemporary cultural link.

Religion was often an important factor in how people answered this question. At Sanchi Buddhists were much more likely to say that they had learnt about their own past ($p= 0.0009995$) and that the site demonstrated the age of Indian culture ($p = 0.02098801$) than were Hindus. Similarly, at Champaner-Pavagadh Muslims were much more likely to say that they had learnt about their past ($p = 0.006497$) and India's past ($p = 0.0005$) than were Hindus.

Place of origin was a factor in how visitors learnt from the site at Sanchi, where those from Madhya Pradesh were significantly more likely to say that they had learnt about local history ($p = 0.0009995$) or their own past while visiting the site ($p = 0.00049975$).

Age also played a role at Bhimbetka, where the 60-64 age group were significantly more likely than other groups to say that they had learnt about India's past ($p = 0.04547726$).

The mind-set of visitors before they came to a site seems to have at least partially determined how likely they were to learn about it. At Sanchi for example a significant number of those who visited out of historical interest also said they'd learnt about Buddhist culture also ($p = 0.009995$), whereas those who came because of the natural environment much more likely to say that they'd learnt nothing ($p = 0.02148926$). Similarly, visitors who came to a site specifically rather than as a larger tour were very likely to say that they had learnt about that site's main focus, for example about Buddhism at Sanchi ($p = 0.00449775$), indicating that they had come to the World Heritage site with this purpose in mind. Visitors to Bhimbetka who gave 'leisure, recreation or holiday' as their motive, nonetheless also stated that they had learnt about local history ($p = 0.0149925$).

Those who said they had learned from the sites were often keen to learn more. Visitors who said they'd learned about past society also were likely to be willing to pay more for guides at Bhimbetka ($p = 0.01549225$), and for more research at Sanchi ($p = 0.02848576$).

Visitors to Sanchi who said they had learnt about Buddhist culture were also significantly likely to say that they'd learnt about Indian culture ($p = 0.00049975$), and were therefore aware that these were mixed categories. Similarly those who said they'd learnt about local history were also likely to say that they'd learnt about local communities ($p = 0.039484026$), indicating that the site combined these in the information it provided. The focus on local history at Sanchi was reinforced by how those who said they'd learnt about Buddhist culture were also likely to have learnt about local history too ($p = 0.03048476$), so even though this was the main focus of the site, they were still picking up local context.

Visitor's descriptions of what they had learnt were generally consistent with their other answers. At Bhimbetka for example, those who said they had learnt about prehistoric culture also felt the site was important because 'it demonstrates the age of our culture' ($p = 0.04847576$). Interestingly, learning about the prehistoric past at Bhimbetka may also have had an impact on visitor perceptions of the site in relation to national identity. Of those who said that the site was important for India's identity in response to question 10, a significant number they were also likely to say that they had learnt about prehistoric culture during the visit ($p = 0.04847576$).

Visitors to Sanchi who said they'd learned about Buddhist culture were also likely to say that the site was important for India's identity because 'we should be proud of it' ($p = 0.03798101$) and because it 'demonstrates the age of our culture' ($p = 0.03398301$), indicating that the World Heritage site had placed the site and its culture within a broader framework.

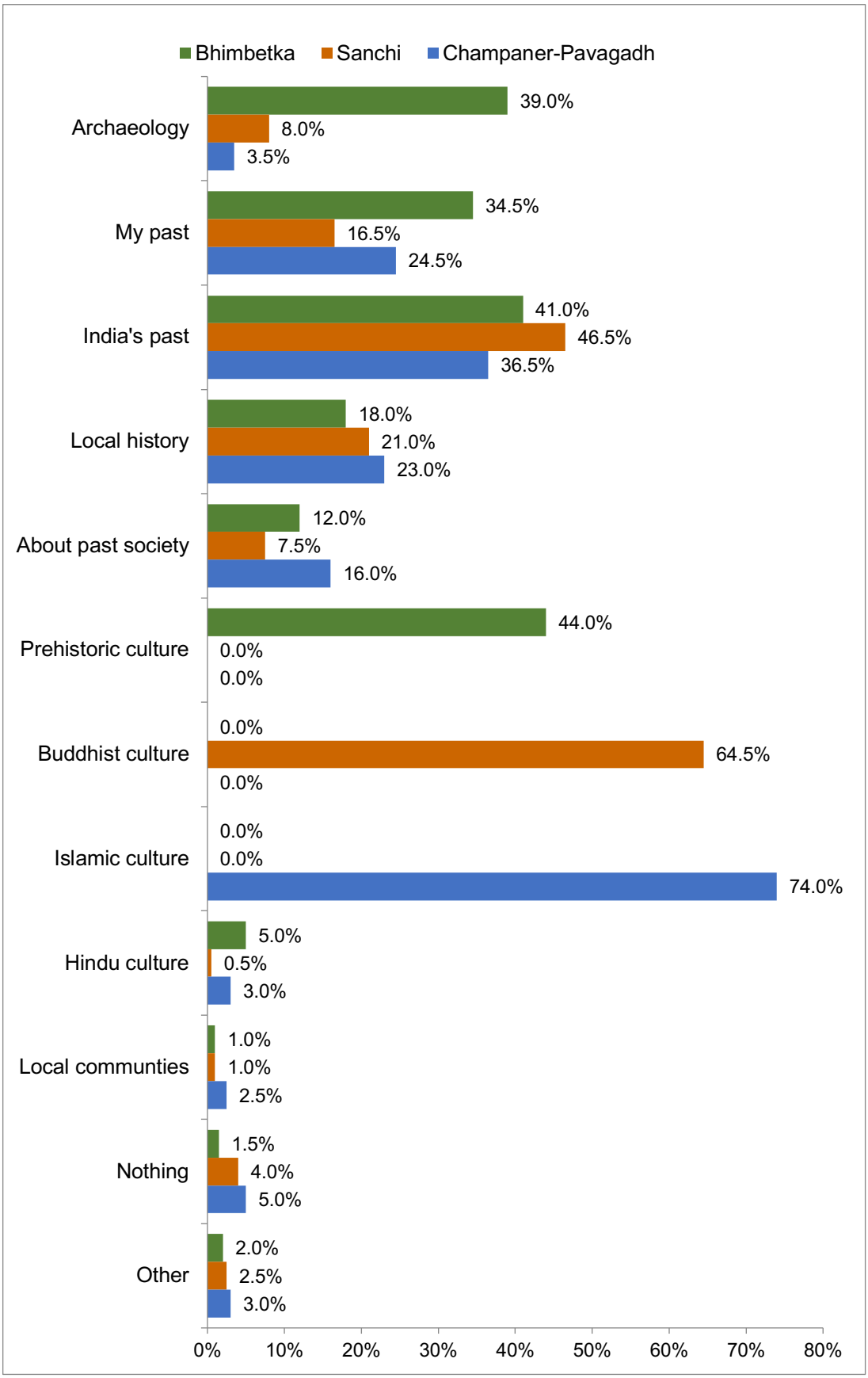



Figure 104: Visitor survey responses to question 25, “What have you learnt by visiting [site] today?”

#### *6.3.2.2 Villages*

As with the survey of visitors, the village survey investigated whether the World Heritage sites helped local community members to understand the past.

The key questions in the village surveys were:

- 6: “Did you know that [site] is a World Heritage site?”
- 3: “How old are the [features] at [site]?”
- 4: “Who created the [features] at [site]?”

Local knowledge of World Heritage status at the three sites was mixed (see Figure 105). It was highest at Champaner-Pavagadh, where awareness was correlated with having lived in the area between 20 and 100 years ($p = 0.0169915$). It was also likely highest here because much of the community is located in the core zone and subject to the most extreme limitations on building of any of the sites.

The lower awareness at Bhimbetka and Sanchi was somewhat surprising and indicates that the communities are unlikely to have learnt about the sites within the context of their World Heritage designation.

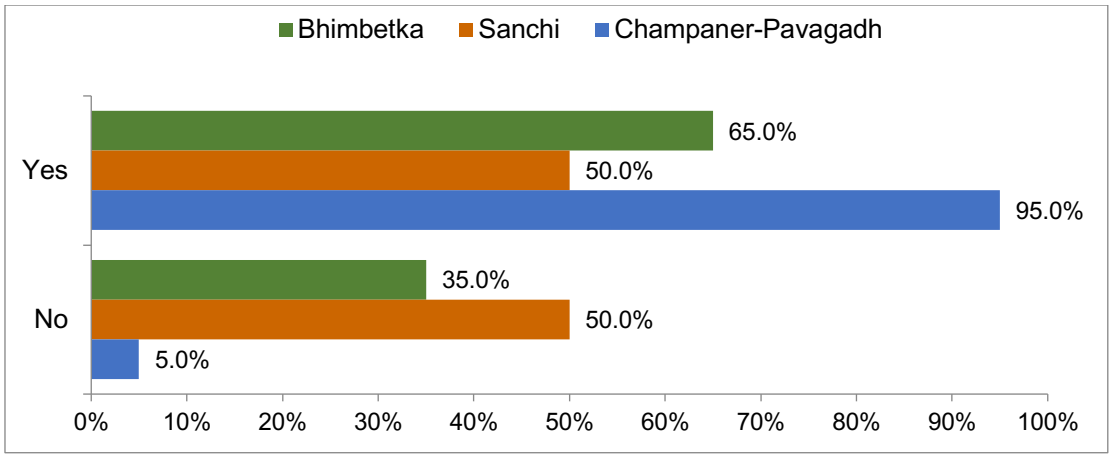



Figure 105: Village survey responses to question 6, “Did you know that [site] is a World Heritage site?”

The survey assessed local residents’ understanding of the age of the sites’ features with question 3 (see Figure 106). Knowledge of the correct age was highest at Champaner with 45% followed by Bhimbetka at 35% and Sanchi with 30%. Sinha and Sharma’s claim that the residents at Champaner-Pavagadh "appear to have little or no interest in history that heritage structures embody, nor do they have a clear sense of historical time and space encompassed in the ruins" (Sinha et al. 2009, 209) is not really borne out by these results,

as these communities were the most accurate in their estimation of the age of the monuments, and while half did over-estimate their age, this appears to be more of a claim to importance for the monuments than a misjudgment.

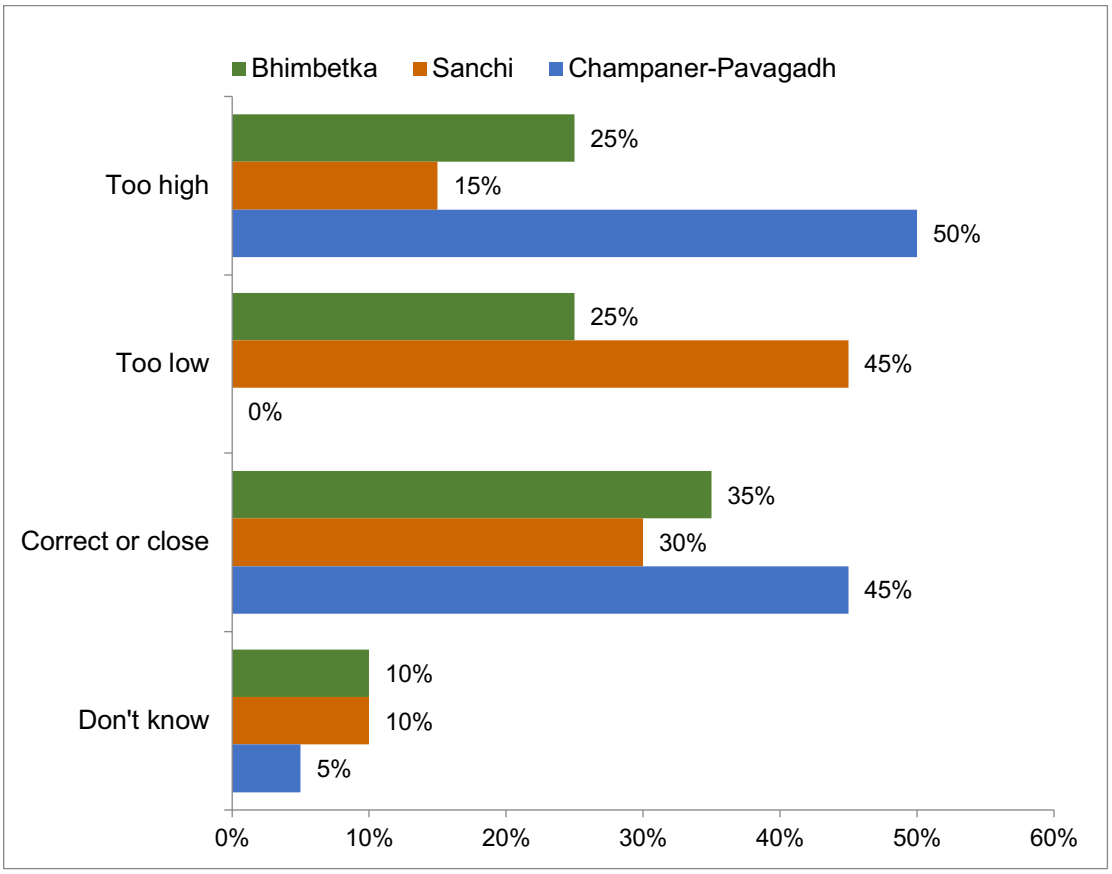



Figure 106: Village survey responses to question 3, “How old are the [features] at [site]?”

It is interesting to compare the village survey results for question 3 with those from question 24 of the visitor survey (see Figure 107). At Bhimbetka and Sanchi, a similar proportion of residents (35% and 30% respectively) estimated the age of the sites more or less correctly, compared to the visitors (38% and 33% respectively). When it came to errors the relative proportions were reversed, where the visitors tended to estimate that the sites were older more, and the residents that they were younger. While the sample size is low solid conclusions cannot be reached, but nonetheless this is the opposite of what one would have expected if hypothesising that the local communities would claim an older age for the sites in order to promote their importance and their own long presence in the areas. One speculative interpretation is that with only 12.31% of the population in Raisen District having achieved a level of secondary education or higher (data source: Gov. India 2011d), that residents were less familiar with expressing longer periods of time (as discussed in chapter 1, and see Dempsey (1971, 119–120). It also demonstrates that

the majority of the local community are not learning factual information from the World Heritage site.

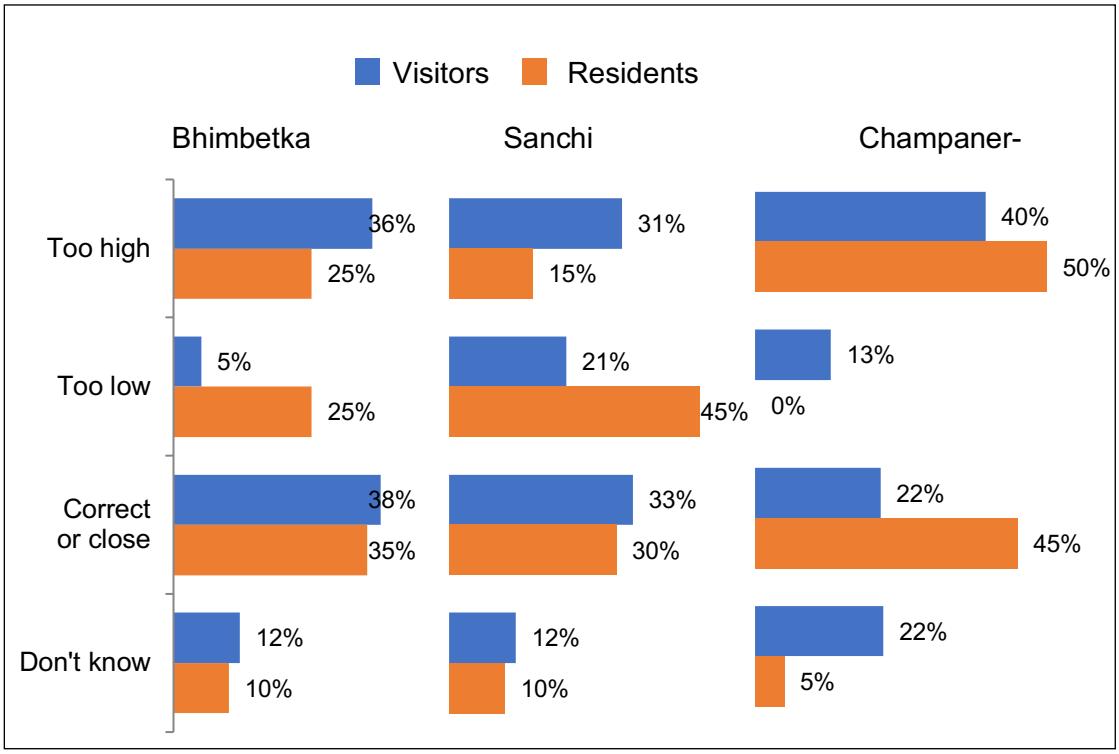



Figure 107: Comparison of visitor and resident responses to the question “How old are the [features] at [site]?”

The survey then asked local residents who had created the features at the sites. Only 5% answered ‘my people’, ‘the people who live in this area today’ or ‘tribal people’ at Sanchi and Champaner, but at Bhimbetka the situation was the reverse, with response levels of 50%, 75% and 75% respectively (see Figure 108). This shows a significant claim of ownership on the part of the local community at Bhimbetka, which contrasts with the lower claims made about the age of the site in question 3.

At Champaner in contrast, 70% considered the monuments to have been built by ‘ancient people’ only (compared to 50% at Bhimbetka and 40% at Sanchi). Claiming this but not any link to current communities seems to be an acknowledgement among most residents that they do not have longstanding history in the area. Those few who did however claim that the monuments were built by 'my people' or 'tribal people' all had ST status, and were also likely to state that the monuments were more than 10,000 years old ($p = 0.015992$ and 0.02198901 respectively). Here it could again be the case that ST members are either unaware of the information on the site regarding its origins, or deliberately disagree with it in order to strengthen their own position.

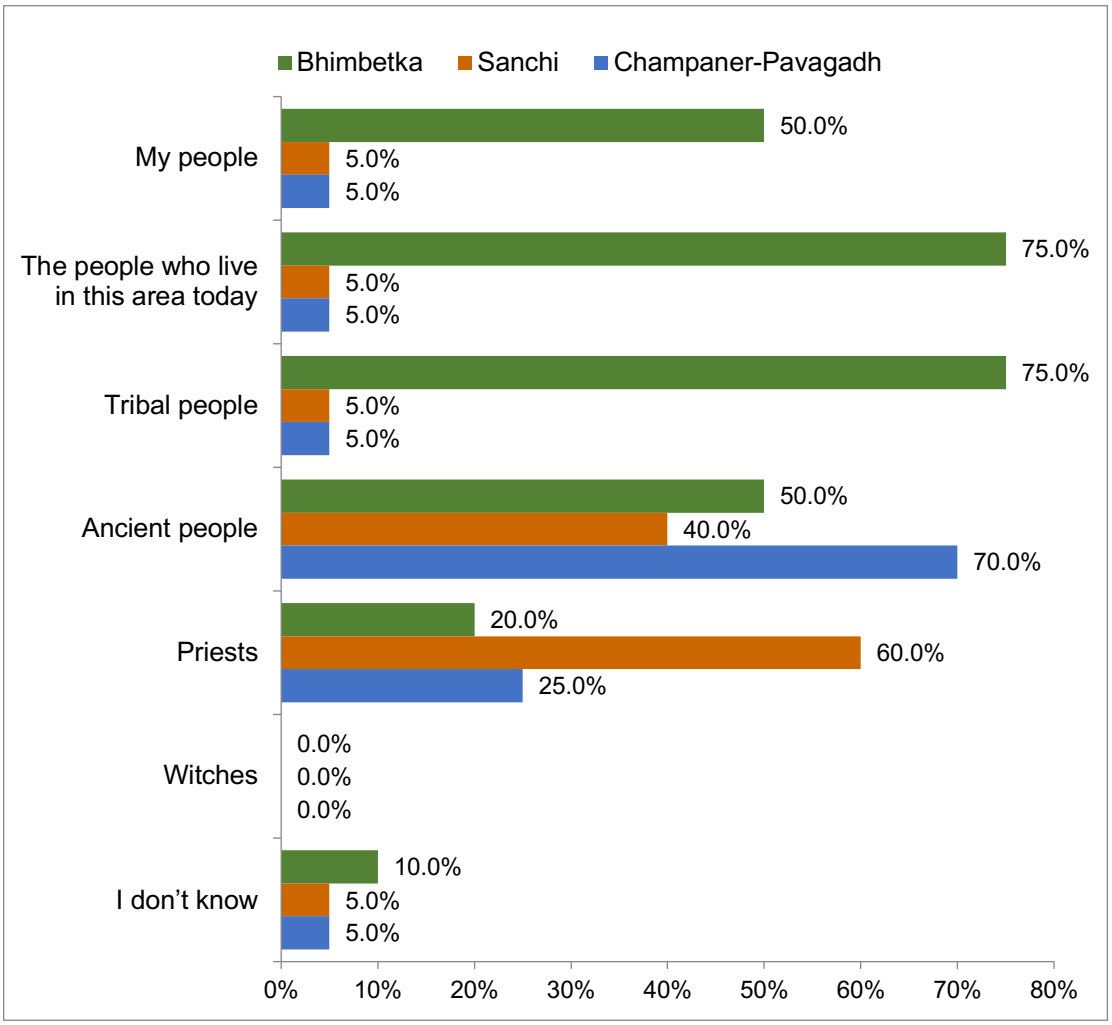



Figure 108**:** Village survey responses to question 4, "Who created the [features] at [site]?"

### *6.3.2.3 Summary*

The surveys illuminated several ways in which the World Heritage sites studied can be seen to have helped or influenced visitors and local communities understanding of the past. Correlations were found with religion, place of origin, vocation and ST status, with the most important factor found to be the amount of information and interpretation provided at the sites.

Religion again played a consistent role in how visitors learned from the sites, following on from research question one where it was strongly correlated with a much lower number of visitors claiming that Champaner-Pavagadh was common human heritage or of interest to the rest of the world than at the other two sites. Again at Champaner-Pavagadh, Muslims were more likely to value the site's World Heritage status and to consider local communities important for understanding the site than were Hindus, which was also the case with Buddhists at Sanchi. At both of these sites religion was also correlated with what

visitors said they had learned, with Muslims and Buddhists both much more likely to say that they had learned about their own past at Champaner-Pavagadh and Sanchi respectively than were Hindus. Extending this, Muslims were also more likely to say that they had learnt about India's past at Champaner-Pavagadh, and Buddhists felt that Sanchi demonstrated the age of Indian culture, while Hindus seemed reluctant to consider the sites in this broader context.

The place of origin of visitors to Sanchi was important for how receptive they were to learning about the site, being more likely to say that they had learned about local history and their own pasts.

While surprisingly no strong correlations with education were found, visitors with a professional vocation were found to be more likely to consider the rock art important for understanding Bhimbetka.

The factor that most influenced how visitors learned was the amount of information and interpretation available on the sites. Compared to the other two sites, Champaner-Pavagadh had less information available and controlled the entry and movement of visitors less, meaning that displaying information to them was more difficult. As a result fewer visitors to the site were aware of its World Heritage status than at Bhimbetka and Sanchi. At all sites more detail of what this status meant and why the site was qualified would have been useful, and many visitors felt unable to answer questions about this. Visitors who did know the sites had World Heritage status were more likely to consider them important and say that they had learnt during their visits. At Bhimbetka and Sanchi, those visitors who valued the site were also willing to pay higher entrance fees to have more information about the site generated and provided.

The amount of information available on site and how important visitors considered the sites, were both further mirrored in how well they learned fundamental information such as the age of the sites, with Bhimbetka being best understood, followed by Sanchi and then Champaner-Pavagadh. Knowledge of the age of the sites was also linked with appreciation for their importance. The role of archaeology in helping visitors to learn was also clear, with visitors to Bhimbetka saying that they had learnt from it and could estimate the dates better, while not at Sanchi or Champaner-Pavagadh where the excavations are far less visible and documented (this is further explored in research question 3).

The village survey again presented a different picture of how local residents experience the sites. At Bhimbetka and Sanchi in particular residents were less aware of the World

Heritage status, and thus less likely to have learned from this. This was reflected in less accurate knowledge of the age of the sites, which meant that claims to the antiquity of the sites were less frequent than might have been expected, especially at Bhimbetka where an ancestral role in having created the sites was claimed to a greater extent. The exception to this was at Champaner-Pavagadh, where the small number of ST members who participated in the survey and claimed this ancestral role did claim old ages for the site as expected. This seems to reflect the specific context of that site, as the much larger proportion of ST members at Bhimbetka did not make similar claims.

### 6.3.3 Research Question 3: Do visitors to Indian World Heritage sites and local communities value the contribution of archaeology?

The surveys contained nine key questions specifically designed to understand the way in which both visitors and the local communities valued the contribution of archaeology.

#### *6.3.3.1 Visitors*

For the visitor surveys the key questions were the following:

- 15: “Are you satisfied with the level of the current admission price for the site?”
- 16: “To which agency is the admission fee paid?”
- 18: “Would you be willing to pay more if the money went towards […]?”
- 19: “Do you think that public money should be spent on the protection and preservation of heritage?”
- 20: “How important are the following things for understanding this site: archaeological excavations?”
- 21: “What priority should the following things have for this site: preservation of the features / scientific research to understand the site better?”
- 23: “Are you aware of any archaeological excavations at [site] (now or in the past)?”
- 25: “What have you learnt by visiting [site] today: archaeology?”

The following sections will analyse the answers to each of these questions individually, looking at correlations with the demographic data and other questions, followed by a summary that combines the results to concisely answer the research question.

Question number 23 asked visitors whether they were aware of any archaeological excavations at the sites, either now or in the past. This question is important background as it gives context to how visitors were making judgements about archaeology when answering the others, i.e. based on experience of the archaeology or just hypothetically.

The results (see Figure 112) largely mirrored the visibility of excavations on the sites. Bhimbetka, where the excavated areas are in the middle of the site and still open (for example see Figure 109), had the highest awareness at 57.5%. This is still a low figure, and indicates that more on-site information about the excavations is required.

Figure 109**:** A visible excavated area at Bhimbetka.

At Sanchi excavations are visible on the site but have minimal interpretation (see Figure 110 for example), leaving mainly the museum where archaeology is referenced, and the site had the second highest awareness at 47.5%. Despite having been excavated to an even greater extent, Champaner-Pavagadh had by far the lowest level of awareness at just 12%. Excavations at the site had either been refilled, allowed to become overgrown, or were left without interpretation (see Figure 111 for example), and there was no on-site information or museum about them. Nonetheless those who were aware of the excavations at Champaner-Pavagadh were significantly more likely to say that World Heritage status was important ($p = 0.025487256$), implying that knowledge of this activity raised the value of the site in their eyes.

Figure 110: Excavated monastery buildings at Sanchi, with signage.

Figure 111: Excavated area at Champaner-Pavagadh.

Knowledge of archaeology at the sites was not limited to ASI sources. At Sanchi for example, visitors who had learnt about the site through newspapers before visiting were more likely to be aware of the excavations on the site ($p = 0.01649175$). As background to this, Sanchi was given significant mention in at least six English language Indian

newspaper articles (Singh 2009; Sarkar 2010; Raman 2014; Santoshi 2014; Alexander 2015; Behl 2015) in the 12 months before the surveys took place there.

Those at Bhimbetka who were aware of the excavations on site were also likely to say that the people who made the paintings were the ancestors of all people ($p = 0.0169915$), and that it was important for the rest of the world as common human heritage ($p = 0.04097951$), which may indicate that they had learnt from the interpretations of those excavations. This interpretation is given some weight by the fact that those who said they were unaware of the excavations were in turn more likely to say that it was difficult to say who created the paintings ($p = 0.0069965$).

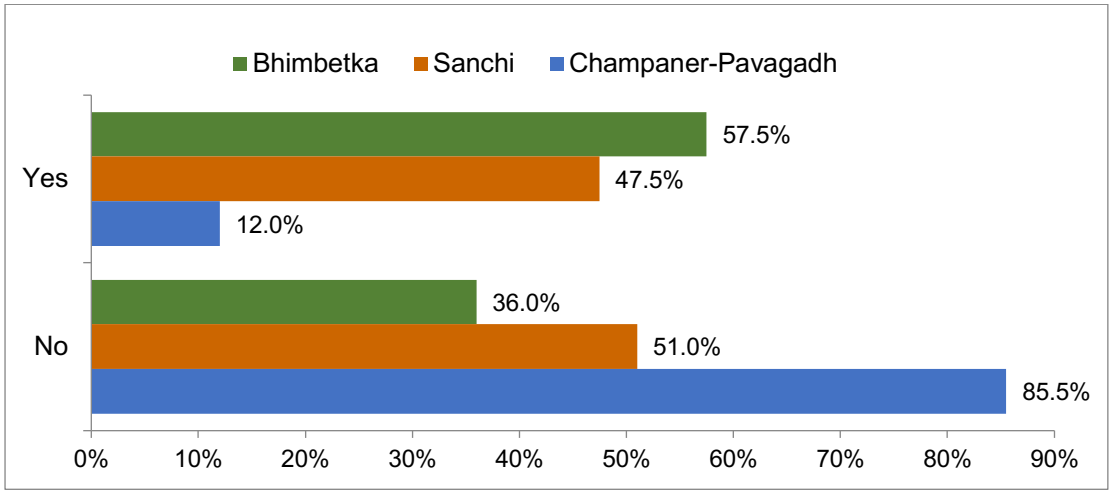



Figure 112: Visitor survey responses to question 23, “Are you aware of any archaeological excavations at [site] (now or in the past)?”

The survey also asked whether visitors were aware of the fact that the sites were managed by the Archaeological Survey of India at all, then assessed whether they were satisfied with the return for their admission, and whether they would be willing to pay more. The majority of visitors to each of the three sites were unclear as to which agency was managing the site and receiving the admission fee (see Figure 115). In each case the state tourism department was the most common guess by around one quarter of visitors. The number recognising the agency was highest at Sanchi (23.5%), where entry to the site is carefully controlled through one point only, and where signs about the ASI are visible (see Figure 113). This was followed by Bhimbetka at 18.5% and then Champaner-Pavagadh at only 10%. This latter low figure may be due to the fact that while individual monuments on the site have ASI signs, there are still multiple entry points and therefore visitors can easily miss these.


Figure 113: Entrance sign at Sanchi.

At Sanchi there was an apparent correlation between knowing that the ASI was running the site and stating that the monuments were important for understanding the site ($p = 0.0129935$), indicating that visitors might take monuments more seriously when they know that government agencies also value them. Those who came to Sanchi for the purpose of 'cultural heritage' were also more likely to know about the role of the ASI ($p = 0.02598701$).

Satisfaction with the admission price for Indian citizens (₹10 per person and ₹50 per car at Bhimbetka, ₹30 at Sanchi, and ₹30 at Champaner-Pavagadh) was high at all sites, at around 86% at Bhimbetka and Sanchi, and 76.5% at Champaner-Pavagadh (see Figure 114). This latter lower satisfaction level seemed to be linked to informal comments made by visitors that the site was 'badly kept', 'not well organised' and 'a bit shabby'.

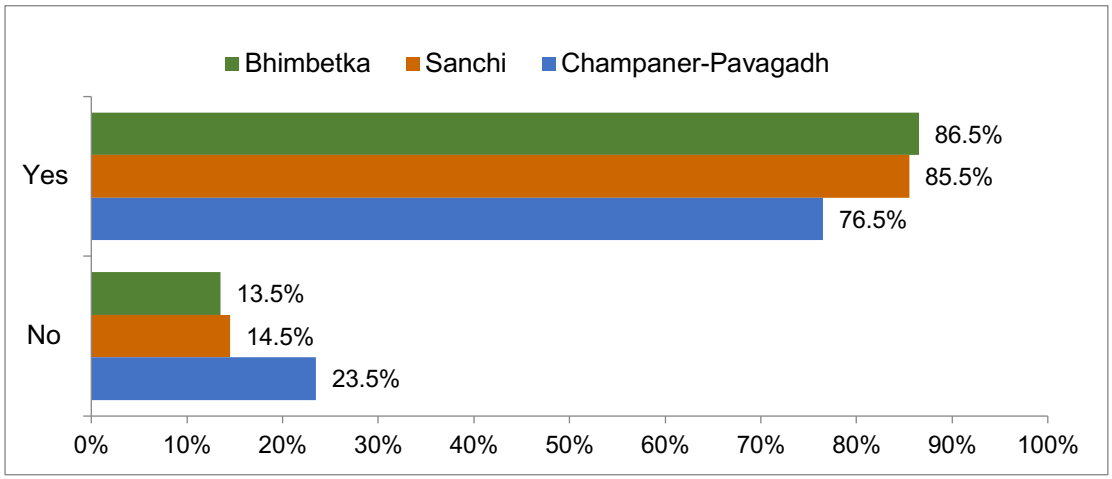



Figure 114: Visitor survey responses to question 15, “Are you satisfied with the level of the current admission price for the site?”

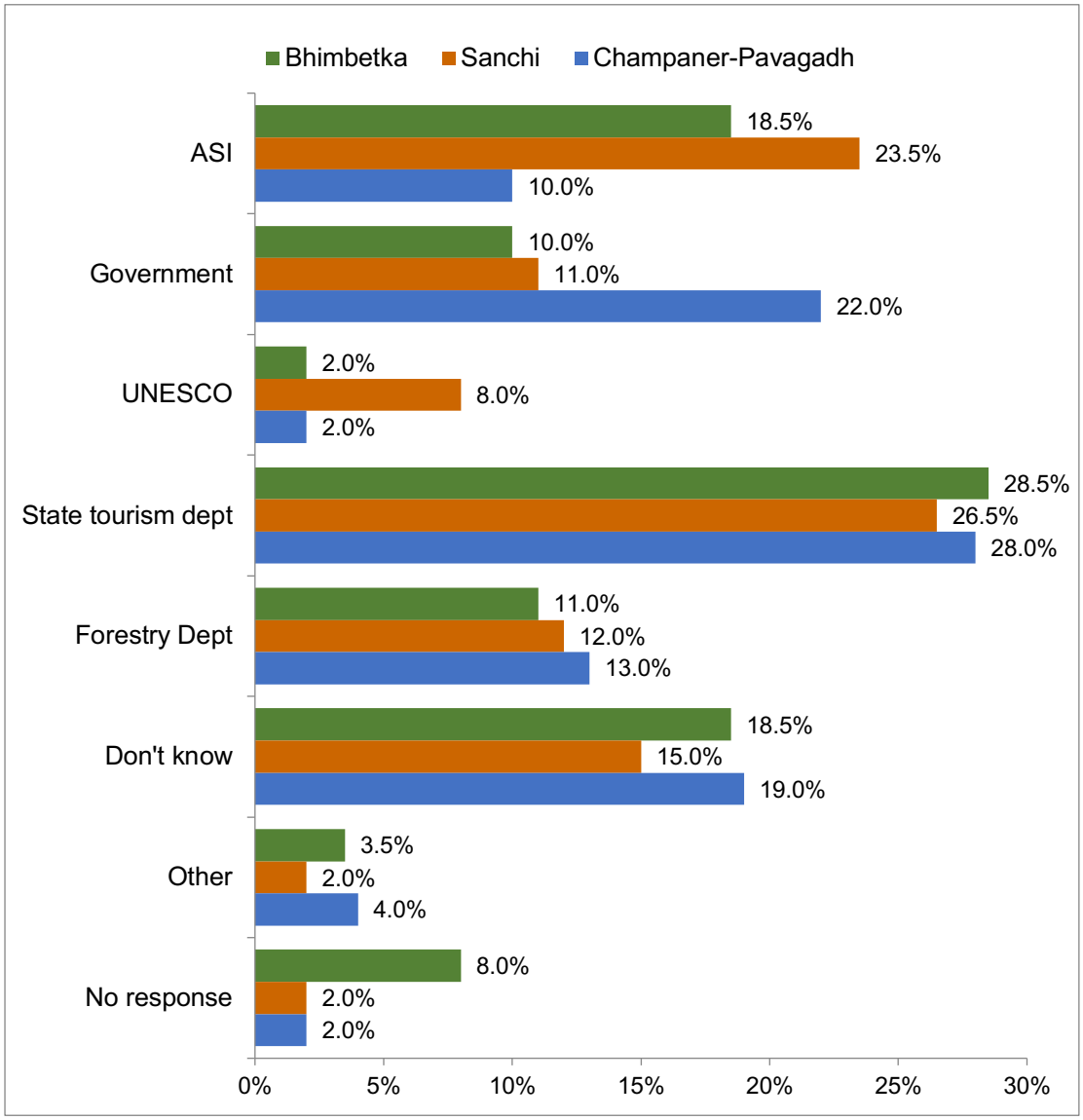



Figure 115: Visitor survey responses to question 16, “To which agency is the admission fee paid?”

In addition to the general level of satisfaction with the entry price, visitors were almost all (93.5%) willing to pay higher admission to the sites (see Figure 116), with archaeological work ranking highly in where they would like to see the money spent. Additional preservation work ranked highest of all responses (64% at Sanchi, 55.5% at Bhimbetka and 52.5% at Champaner-Pavagadh). This demonstrated that the majority of visitors not only valued the monuments and paintings as the most important part of the sites, but also the archaeological work of preserving them. Visitors also valued and were willing to contribute towards more research on the site (29% at Bhimbetka, 22.5% at Champaner-Pavagadh and 19% at Sanchi), and towards site museums (56% at Champaner-Pavagadh, 25% at Sanchi, and 19% at Bhimbetka). These latter results are interesting because only Sanchi currently has a museum. It is likely that the difference in response for Bhimbetka and Champaner-Pavagadh is due to the perceived need for a better and more organised overview of the latter site, while visitors to the former felt that they had a better overview of the site. This is perhaps also indicative that they felt there would not be much material that could be displayed in addition to the paintings, as there is little mention of the artefacts recovered from the excavations on the site.

At Sanchi, visitors were willing to pay for archaeological work with a wide range of motivations. Those who felt the people who made the monuments were the ancestors of all people also said that they would pay a higher entrance fee if the money went towards preservation ($p = 0.02548726$), although this was not necessarily linked to strong personal identification as visitors who said they did not identify with the people who created the monuments were also willing to pay for this ($p = 0.001999$). The perceived importance of the site was correlated with willingness to support it, with those who said that the site was important for the world because ‘everyone should be interested in it’ also willing to pay more admission to improve the museum ($p = 0.01749125$), and those who were aware of the site’s World Heritage status were also more willing to pay extra for more research ($p = 0.022248876$).

Education was frequently correlated with being willing to pay for archaeology. Visitors to Bhimbetka and Champaner-Pavagadh were also more likely to say that they would pay more for additional research on the site if they had a higher education background ($p=0.00049975$ for both). At both Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh a significant number of those who said that they identified with the site because they had studied archaeology or history also said that they would be willing to pay more for entry if it went towards more research on the site ($p = 0.03598201$ and $p = 0.045477$ respectively). In this case it seems as though the heritage itself was being valued independently of any associated identity.

There were indications that visitors understood that archaeological work protected the sites as well as exposing and making it presentable. At Bhimbetka for example, those who said that ‘World Heritage’ meant places requiring protection were also willing to pay more if it went to additional preservation work ($p = 0.0109945$). Not surprisingly, visitors there who believed scientific research should have a high priority for the site were also likely to say that they would pay a higher fee if it went to more research on the site ($p = 0.02248876$), as did those whose stated reason for visiting was 'cultural heritage'. At Champaner-Pavagadh, those who felt the monuments were important for understanding the site were also more willing to pay extra for their preservation ($p = 0.048975512$), perhaps underlining the somewhat greater need for this here than at the other two sites where the correlation was not apparent.

In some cases the desire to preserve heritage could be linked to economic rather than historical interest. At Bhimbetka for example, being willing to pay more for preserving the rock paintings was correlated with believing that World Heritage status benefited the local economy ($p = 0.03048476$).

Both age and sex were correlated with willingness to support archaeology at Sanchi. Visitors in the 35 and above age groups were more willing to pay extra for conservation work ($p = 0.01149425$). Interestingly a significantly higher proportion of men were willing to pay for both conservation ($p = 0.04597701$) and additional research ($p = 0.0109945$).

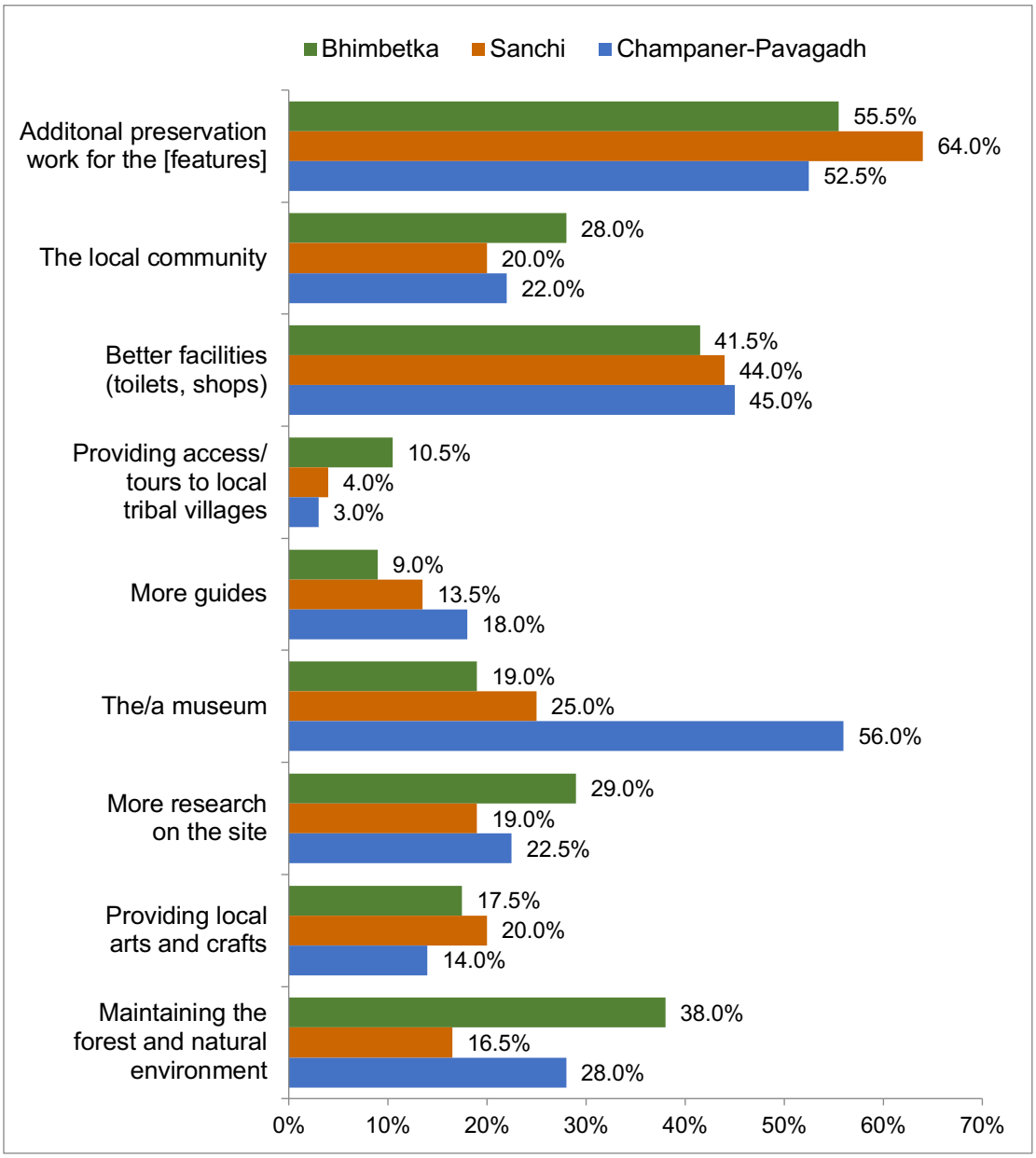



Figure 116: Visitor survey responses to question 18, “Would you be willing to pay more if the money went towards […]?”

In addition to the willingness to make personal contributions described above, there was support at all sites for spending public money on the protection and preservation of heritage, demonstrating again that the role of archaeology was highly valued. While the support for public spending was particularly high at Sanchi (93%) and Bhimbetka (90%), it was notably lower at Champaner-Pavagadh, at 76.5%, with more than twice as many visitors stating their opposition to it compared to the other sites (see Figure 117). This latter group were also much more likely to feel that Champaner-Pavagadh was not important for the rest of the world ($p = 0.018490755$). As mentioned earlier, this belief that Champaner-Pavagadh was not important for the rest of the world was also correlated with

religion (p = 0.007996), indicating a reluctance on the part of Hindu visitors to see public funding allocated for archaeology perceived to be related to religions seen as lower priority.

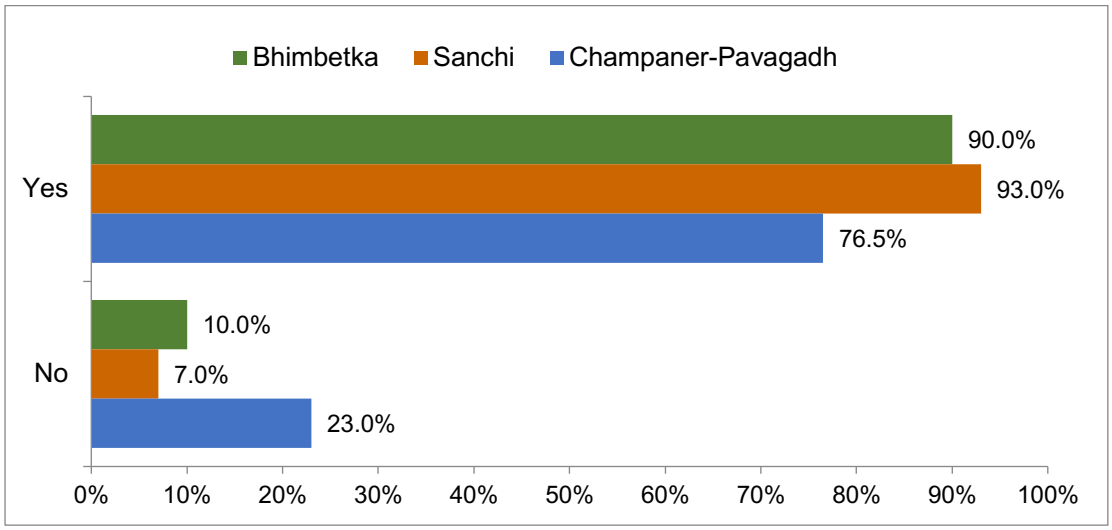



Figure 117: Visitor survey responses to question 19, “Do you think that public money should be spent on the protection and preservation of heritage?”

How people valued archaeology in terms of its ability to help them understand the sites varied significantly. It was highest at Sanchi at 51.5%, followed by Bhimbetka at 46.5% (see Figure 119). The difference here may have been due to factors such as that archaeological interpretations are more readily available through the museum at Sanchi, and that the focus of visitors to Bhimbetka was broader, with twice as many people giving the natural environment as a reason for visiting (31% to 15.5%) for example. Archaeology’s contribution to understanding Champaner-Pavagadh was however valued to a much lesser extent than at the other sites, at only 26%. As with Bhimbetka, this can be due to the fact that artefacts from excavations are not on display. At the same time, extensive areas of both previously excavated and recovered, as well as still untouched archaeological remains can be seen throughout the forest on the site, without any public interpretation. It is thus reasonable for the public to conclude that the archaeological understanding of the site is not being shared with them. The lack of upkeep of many parts of the site, including archaeological areas, further reinforces the impression that archaeological study is not a high priority for site management. At one point for example a large pile of medieval chain mail recovered during an earlier excavation can be seen to have been effectively abandoned against the side of an ASI building and is now thoroughly rusted and deteriorated, in public view (see Figure 118).

Figure 118: Chain mail at Champaner-Pavagadh.

Visitors to Bhimbetka and Sanchi who valued archaeological excavations for understanding the site were much more likely to have a higher education backgrounds ($p = 0.02248876$ and $p = 0.00049975$ respectively).

Excavations were however also valued by visitors for more than their educational value. Visitors to Bhimbetka who valued archaeology for understanding the site were very likely to also say that World Heritage status was important for tourism ($p = 0.0009995$). This was again linked to an understanding of World Heritage as meaning something important and interesting for all ($p = 0.02348826$), and the belief that those people who made the paintings were the ancestors of all people ($p = 0.01849076$).

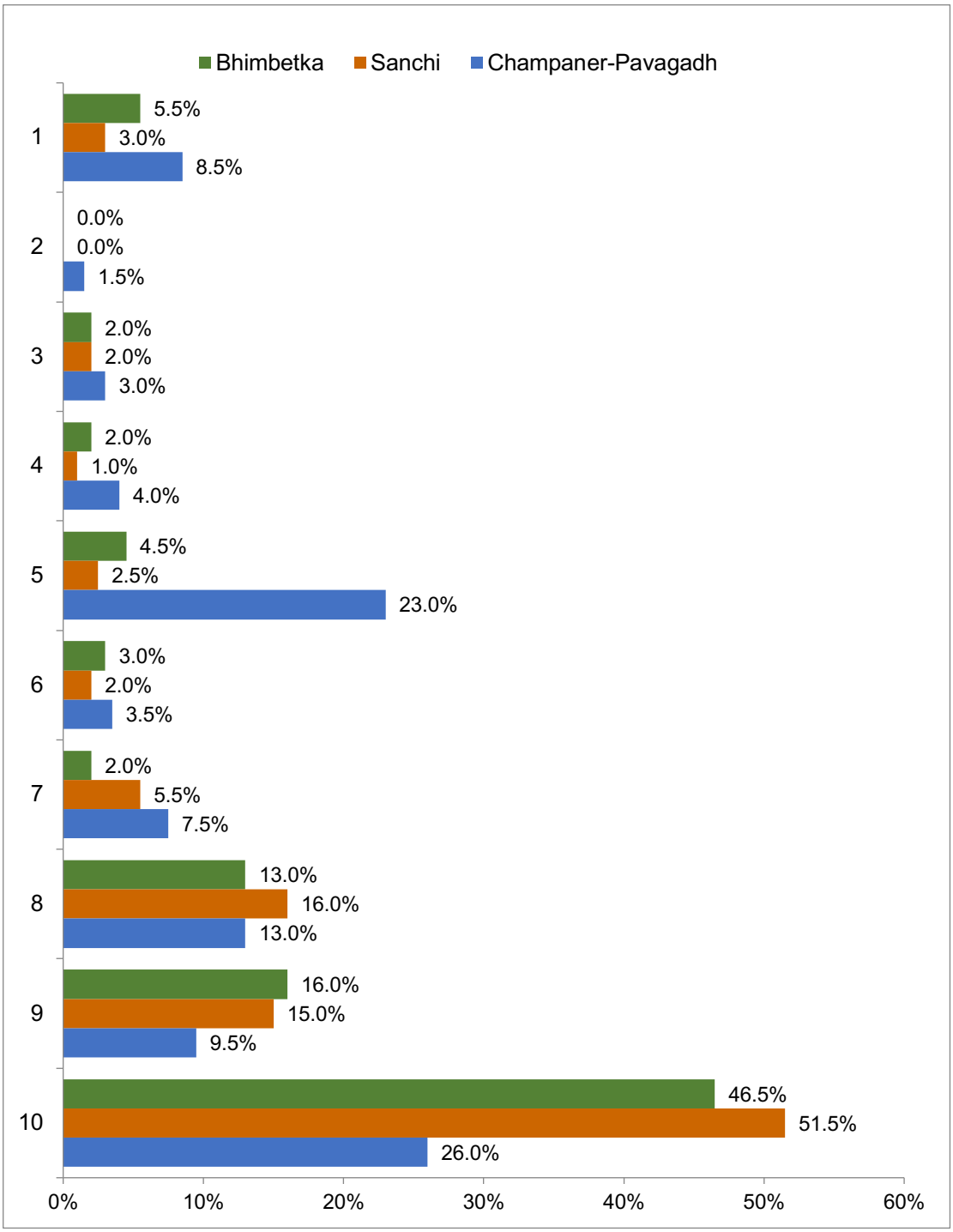



Figure 119: Visitor survey responses to question 20, “How important are the following things for understanding this site: archaeological excavations: Archaeological excavations?”

When asked to give priorities for the sites (see Figure 120), archaeological preservation of the monuments or paintings was given the highest ranking among all options, at 85.5% for Sanchi, 74.5% for Bhimbetka, and 67.5% at Champaner (see Figure 121). These numbers largely reflect those from question 20 above, possibly demonstrating that the visibility of archaeological activity is also related to how important visitors feel it is.

Religion was an important factor in preservation and research not being ranked highly as a priority by visitors overall to Champaner-Pavagadh, despite a degree of apparent archaeological neglect. While those who said they were Hindu made up 76.5% of the visitors surveyed (as opposed to Muslims at 19%), they were significantly less likely to give preservation or scientific research a high priority than were Muslims ($p = 0.042478761$ and $p = 0.009995002$ respectively).

Education was also again correlated with prioritising archaeology, with those willing to pay more for more research at Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh being likely to have a higher education background ($p = 0.0004975$ for both). If these visitors had more specifically studied history or archaeology, they were also more likely to identify with the people who lived at the site in the past ($p = 0.00049975$), possibly strengthening their support.

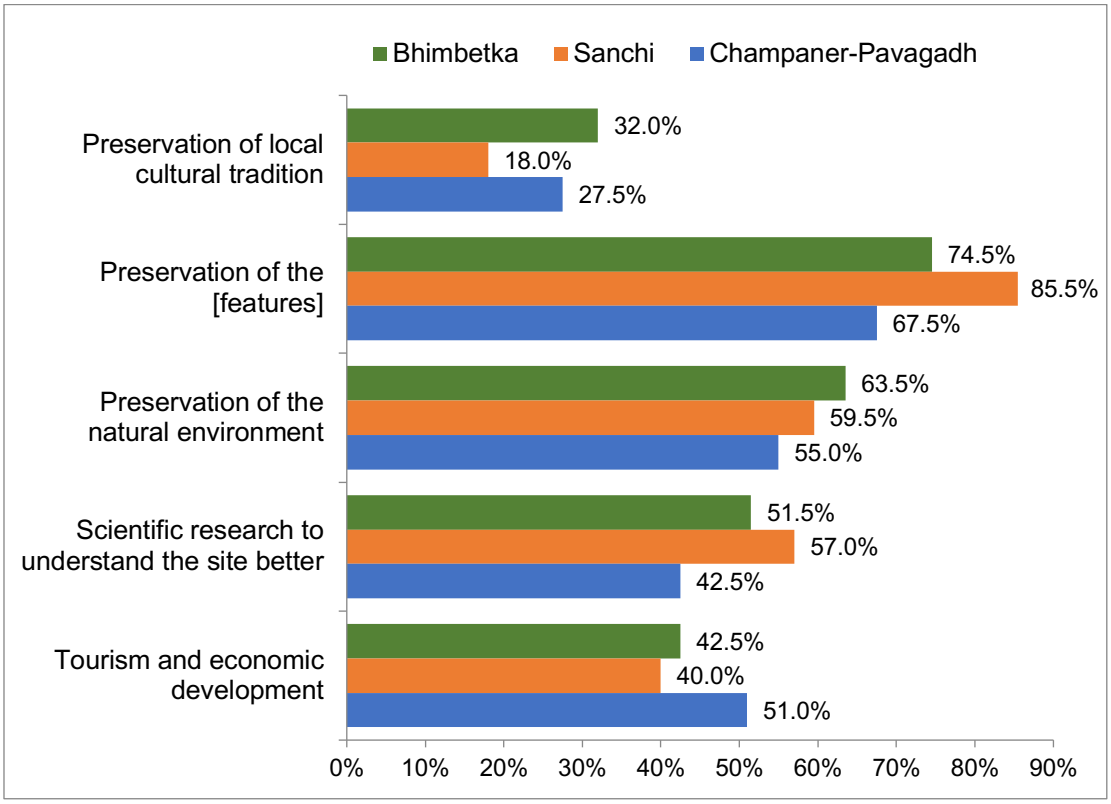



Figure 120: Summary of visitor survey responses to question 21 where a top score of 10 was given in response to “What priority should the following things have for this site?”

There were strong indications that visitors understood that the archaeology of the sites was embedded in a broader context. Visitors to Bhimbetka for example who gave high priority to preservation of the paintings mostly also felt that the natural environment was of high priority ($p = 0.0049975$), as well as tourism and economic development for the local communities ($p = 0.013993$).

Religion was a factor in visitors giving high priority to archaeological preservation of the monuments only at Sanchi, where Buddhists were much more likely to do so ($p = 0.03698151$). Education and vocation were correlated with prioritising preservation at Bhimbetka, where visitors who did so were likely to have a higher education degree ($p = 0.01349325$) and to either have professional occupations or be students ($p = 0.02398801$).

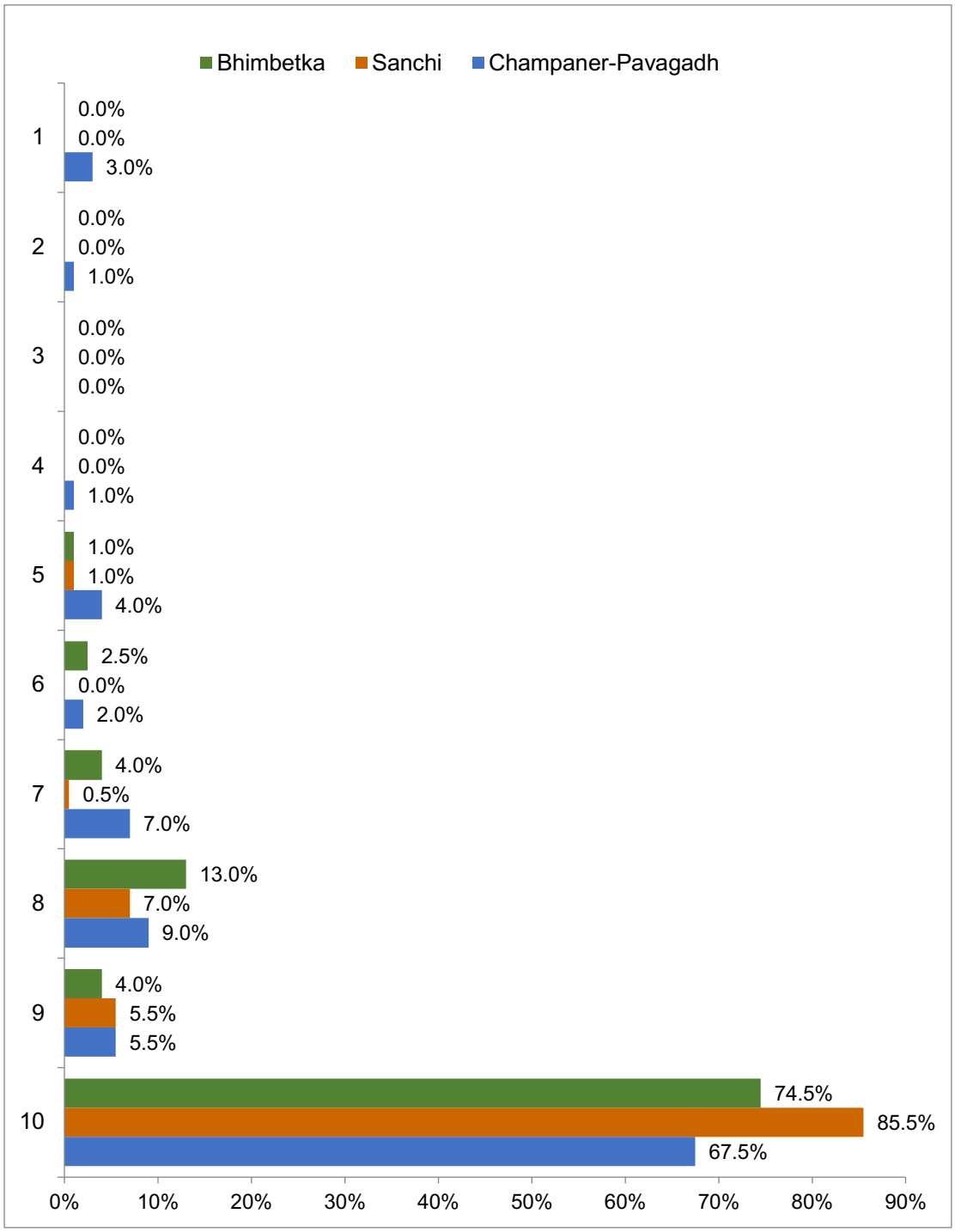



Figure 121: Visitor survey responses to question 21, “What priority should the following things have for this site: preservation of the [features]?”

As shown in Figure 120, ‘scientific research to understand the site better’ was given the third-highest priority behind protection of the natural environment at all sites except for Champaner-Pavagadh, where tourism was ranked higher. As can be seen in Figure 122 however, it wasn’t simply a case of tourism being given a higher priority, but that far more visitors to Champaner-Pavagadh gave research an explicitly low priority than they did at the other sites.

The nonetheless relatively high priority given to research on the sites still demonstrates that visitors do place a large degree of value on the potential of archaeology to increase their understandings of the sites.

At Bhimbetka, where research was given the highest priority, it was not valued in isolation. For example, those who had gave it high priority also did so for preservation ($p = 0.00249875$) and for preserving the natural environment ($p = 0.00049975$). This holistic view of the site tended to extend to how the visitors perceived the original inhabitants, and those who prioritised scientific research tended to identify them much more broadly than those who only prioritised preservation, often choosing multiple categories, as well as ‘it’s difficult to say who they were’ ($p = 0.00095$-$0.03698151$). Those who prioritised scientific research at Bhimbetka were also very likely to be aged between 35-44 ($p = 0.02198901$), have a higher education background ($p = 0.0009995$), and a professional occupation ($p = 0.0069965$).

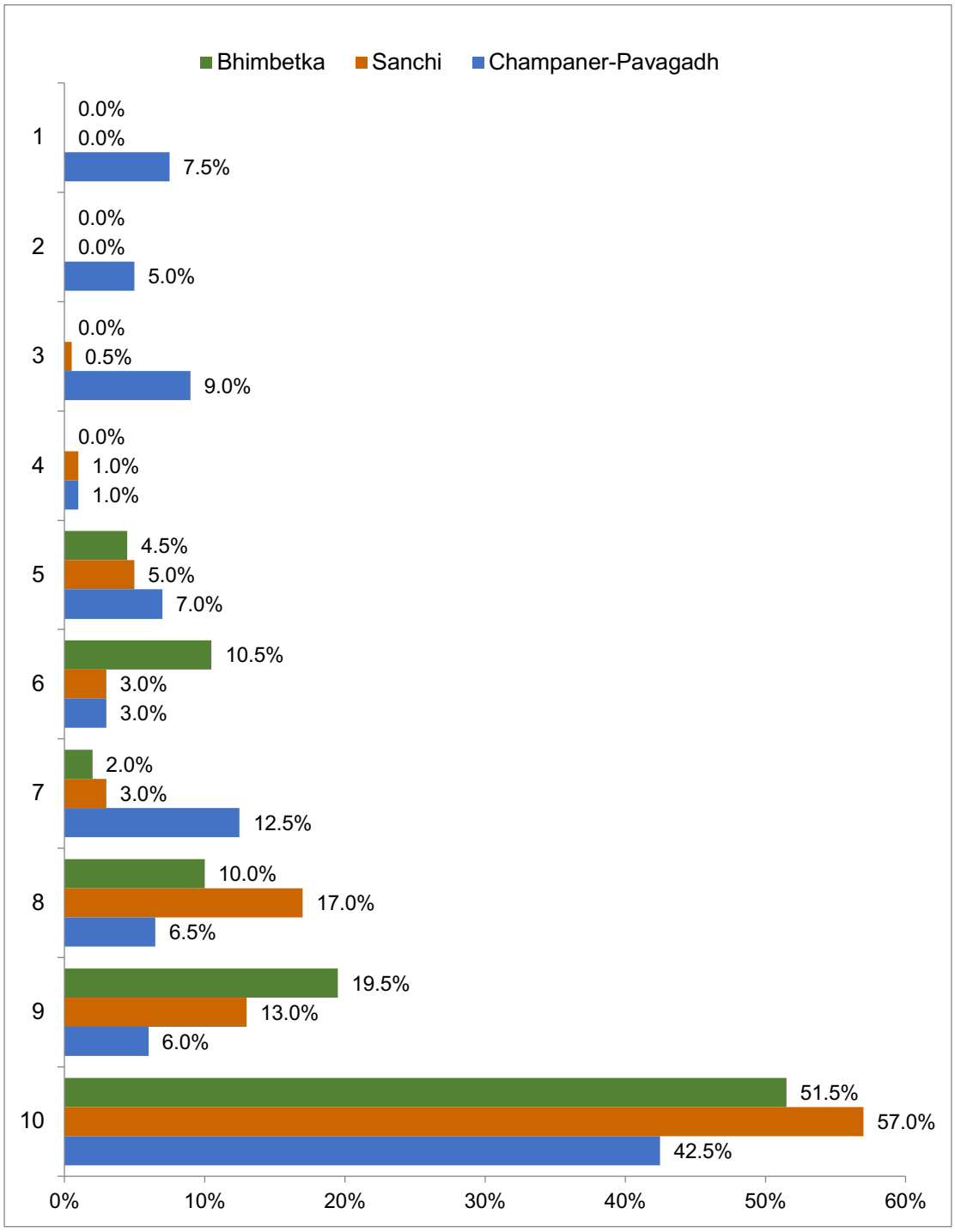



Figure 122: Visitor survey responses to question 21, “What priority should the following things have for this site: scientific research to understand the site better?”

Finally, visitors were asked what they had learnt by visiting the sites. Matching the visitor awareness levels about excavation at each of the sites, more people said they had learnt about archaeology at Bhimbetka, then Sanchi, and then Champaner-Pavagadh (see Figure 123). The result for Champaner-Pavagadh (3.5%) is disappointingly low, but can be explained by the lack of on-site interpretation, while 39% at Bhimbetka seems to reflect the opposite situation. It is very surprising however that only 8% of visitors to Sanchi

reported having learnt about archaeology, even though 64.5% and 53.5% said they came to the site out of historical interest or for cultural heritage respectively, and large numbers said that preservation (85.5%) and research (57%) should be priorities for the site. It seems therefore that at Sanchi a clear identification of the recovery, reconstruction, and preservation of the monuments as practices of archaeology has not been made for the visitors.

Education seems to be a factor in how visitors interpret archaeology on site. Visitors to Bhimbetka who said that they had learnt about archaeology were very likely to have a higher education background ($p = 0.00049975$) for example. They were also likely to have listed 'historical interest' as one of their reasons for coming to the site ($p = 0.03898051$), indicating that a pre-existing interest in the past made them more likely to learn from the archaeology on the site.

The visibility of archaeology seems to also have increased the appreciation of visitors for research, and at Bhimbetka for example having learnt about archaeology was correlated with being willing to pay more for additional research ($p = 0.02598701$). The situation was similar at Sanchi for those who said they had learnt about local history ($p = 0.02848576$).

At Champaner-Pavagadh understanding of archaeology was correlated with prioritising preservation. Those who said that they had learnt about archaeology and local history during their visit were also likely to say that preservation of the monuments should have high priority ($p = 0.04097951$ and $p = 0.045477261$ respectively).

Interestingly at Champaner-Pavagadh, men were significantly more likely to say that they had learnt about local history than women ($p = 0.004997501$). As there was no strong correlation between sex and other factors such as education, this may indicate a difference in the degree to which women at this particular site were willing to fully answer the questions.

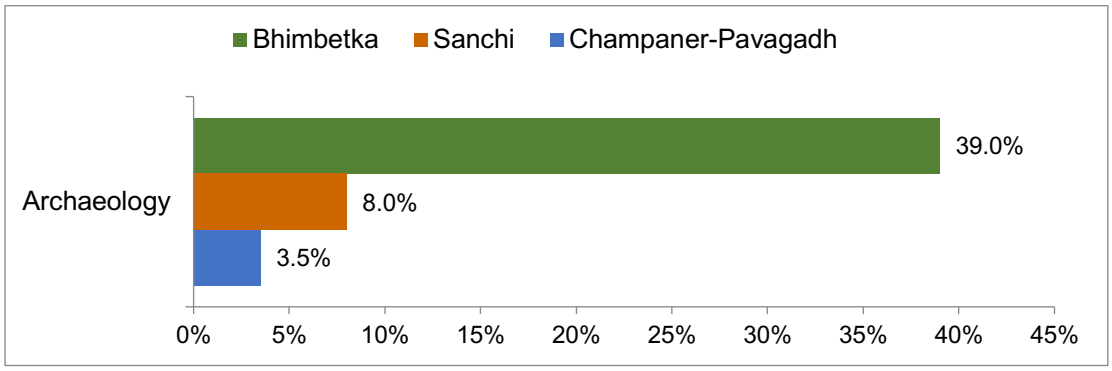



Figure 123: Visitor survey responses to question 25, "What have you learnt by visiting [site] today: archaeology?"

#### *6.3.3.2 Villages*

As with the survey of visitors, the village survey investigated how local communities at the World Heritage sites valued the contribution of archaeology. Due to the need to keep the village surveys shorter and less complicated, only one question directly addressed this point:

- 5: Does the ASI help you to understand the [features] better?

The responses to this question reflected the local context of each site (see Figure 124). At Bhimbetka, only 5% of respondents in the villages said that the ASI was helpful, but at the same time 25% said they did not know who the ASI were, the highest such response among the sites. This was initially surprising, as the ASI have made efforts to visit all of the villages (Ota, pers. comm.). Informal responses recorded included that they did not need anyone to help them understand the site, that they should be able to use the forest as they wished, and that the priest living on the site had told them that the ASI was wrong. Those who believed that the paintings on the site had been created by priests were less likely to know who the ASI were ($p = 0.04647676$).

At Sanchi 20% of village respondents said that the ASI was helpful. None of the respondents identified as Buddhist, so this may represent an acknowledgement that the information about Buddhist history and culture provided by the ASI was new and useful for them.

At Champaner-Pavagadh by comparison, only 10% said the ASI helped them understand the site, with 85% saying that they didn't, and only 5% saying that they didn't know who they were. These responses reflect the fact that many respondents lived within the boundaries of the core site, and therefore didn't see the ASI as gatekeepers to information

about it. From informal conversations it was also clear that these responses were also influenced by a general negativity towards the ASI, largely due to the building restrictions discussed in chapter 5.

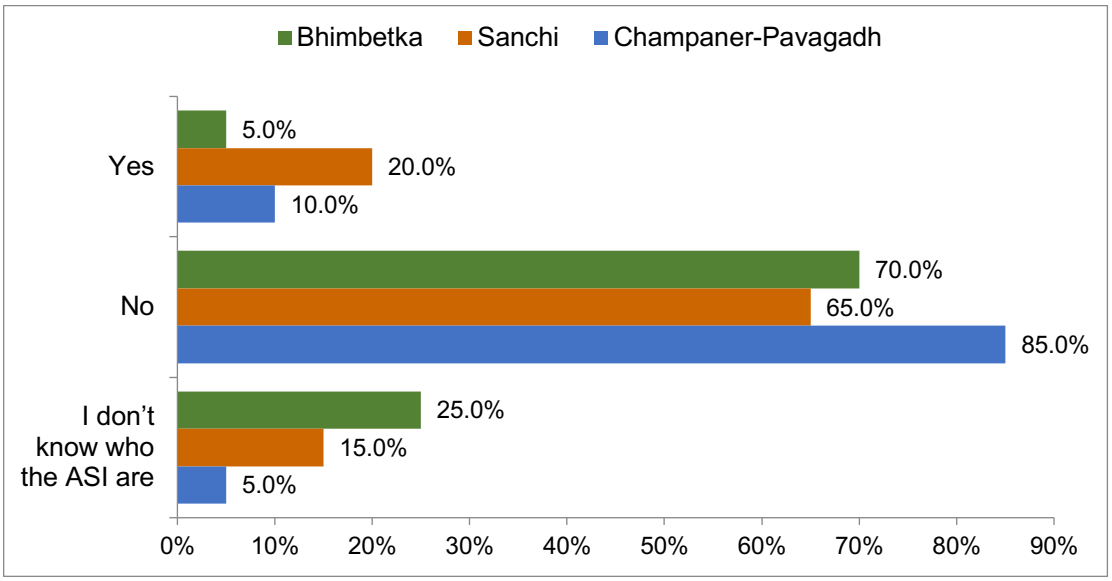



Figure 124: Village survey responses to question 5, "Does the ASI help you to understand the [features] better?"

#### *6.3.3.3 Summary*

Archaeology was seen to be valued by visitors and to contribute to better understanding and appreciating the sites. This was correlated in particular with religion, education, and its visibility and the amount of information provided about it. While limited to one question only, in comparison local residents showed very low levels of appreciation.

Religion was correlated with how visitors valued archaeology at both Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh, where Buddhists and Muslims respectively gave high priority to preservation. At Champaner-Pavagadh however Hindus were consistently against archaeological research and preservation at the site.

Education was an important correlation factor at all three sites, with higher levels linked to having learnt about archaeology during visits, valuing excavations, prioritizing and being willing to pay a higher admission fee for more research and preservation. Importantly this seemed to be independent of religion.

Willingness to pay for archaeology was correlated with a range of additional factors, with public financing supported at all sites, albeit less by Hindus at Champaner-Pavagadh. At Sanchi in particular, visitors who considered the site to be important because of its

common heritage and World Heritage status were willing to pay higher admission to support archaeological work. At all locations being aware of archaeological activity on the sites was correlated with the degree of willingness to fund it.

This awareness of archaeological work on the sites varied, being highest at Bhimbetka, then Sanchi and lowest at Champaner-Pavagadh. In part this may have been due to the relative degree of media coverage of work on the sites, but most likely it was the provision and prominence of information about archaeological work, as well as the visibility of excavations themselves that was key. In no case was awareness of the ASI's role at the sites commonly known.

In the village surveys in particular it was found that a large majority of local residents at all of the sites did not consider the ASI to be helpful. At Sanchi there was a lack of religious connection to the site, while at Bhimbetka and Champaner-Pavagadh this seemed to be linked to residents use of the site for their own purposes and activity restrictions imposed due to the sites' World Heritage status. For Champaner-Pavagadh this finding contradicted the claims made in the 2012 periodic report that the cooperation and relationship between local communities and the ASI were "good" (UNESCO 2012, 7).

It is clear that knowledge of archaeology is highly valued, and it was correlated both with better understanding of the sites, and with a higher assessment of their importance. There is definitely still great potential to better provide information on archaeology at all three sites, and especially at Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh.

### 6.3.4 Research Question 4: How important are local communities to Indian World Heritage sites, and do the sites benefit the local communities?

The surveys contained nine key questions specifically designed to understand the way in which the local communities benefited from the World Heritage sites.

#### *6.3.4.1 Visitors*

For the visitor surveys the key questions were the following:

- 17: "Are you aware of any local or tribal villages at [site]?"
- 18: "Would you be willing to pay more if the money went towards: The local community / Providing access/tours to local tribal villages / Providing local arts and crafts?"
- 20: "How important are the following things for understanding this site: The local communities?"

- 21: “What priority should the following things have for this site: Preservation of local cultural tradition / Tourism and economic development?”
- 22: “To what extent do you agree with the following statements about the people who [created the site]: They were the ancestors of the people who live in this area today?”
- 25: “What have you learnt by visiting [site] today: Local History / Local Communities?”

The following sections will analyse the answers to each of these questions individually, looking at correlations with the demographic data and other questions, followed by a summary that combines the results to concisely answer the research question.

To begin with, question number 17 ascertained whether visitors to the World Heritage sites were aware of any local or tribal villages at all (see Figure 129). The results largely mirror the visibility and accessibility of the villages from the sites, rather than any cultural continuity between the sites and the villages. At the time of this fieldwork, none of the World Heritage sites mentioned the villages in their informational material, nor specifically encouraged visiting them. Visitors’ awareness of the sites directly affects the ability of local people to interact with them and benefit economically. It also affects the degree to which visitors consider the villages and locals to be related to the sites, and therefore to some extent influences the degree of recognition as they can receive as stakeholders.

At Champaner-Pavagadh visitors were most aware of the villages at 69.5%, because Champaner village is situated in the middle of the World Heritage site itself, and visitors must walk right through it (for example see Figure 125 below and Figure 60 in chapter 6), including farmers houses in the core zone (see Figure 126) and state highway 150 passes right through nearby Halol village as visitors are arriving from the west.

Figure 125: Visitors entering the grounds of a monument at Champaner-Pavagadh, with buildings of Champaner village in the background.

Figure 126**:** A farmer's house in the core zone at Champaner-Pavagadh.

At Sanchi, Sanchi town intrudes into the site's buffer zone and visitors pass right by it on their way into the core zone (see Figure 127 below and Figure 53 in chapter 6). Nonetheless, because only the visitors staying nearby tend to do so at hotels near the more removed railway station, and then spend almost all of their visit in the core zone with no direct contact to the villages, awareness was only 53.5% at Sanchi. Awareness of the local villages at Sanchi was strongly correlated with living in the area ($p = 0.0009995$) and having visited more than once ($p = 0.03648176$).

Figure 127: Sanchi Village as glimpsed from within the World Heritage site.

Awareness was lowest at Bimbetka with 32%. The edge of Bhaiyapur village is just visible as visitors take the road from the highway through the buffer zone to the core site (see Figure 128 below and Figure 42 in chapter 6), but there is no reason for them to stop at this point. Otherwise due to the activity restrictions of the buffer zone and wildlife sanctuary, villages or extensive farming activity in the surrounding area are generally not visible from the elevated position of the core site.

Figure 128: Houses near Bhaiyapur village, on the approach road to Bhimbetka.

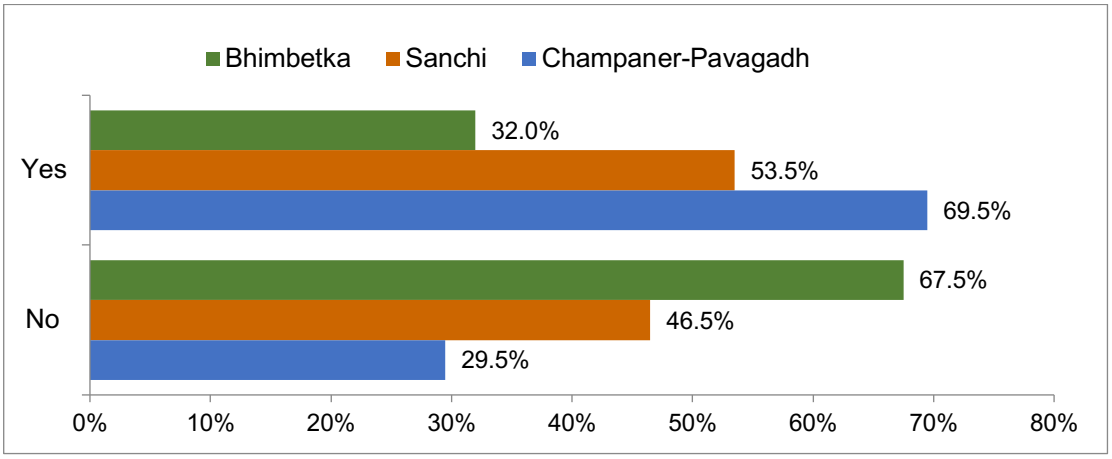



Figure 129: Visitor survey responses to question 17, “Are you aware of any local or tribal villages at [site]?”

Previous responses to question 13 had shown that benefits to the local economy were deemed to make the World Heritage status of Champaner-Pavagadh important by 24.5% of visitors, followed by Bhimbetka at 19.5% and Sanchi at 17% (see Figure 80). When asked in question 18 whether they would be willing to pay higher admission depending on where the additional funds were spent, visitors similarly did not prioritise the local communities highly, likely due to the perceived lack of connection with the sites mentioned above (see Figure 130). Most interesting was that visitors to Bhimbetka were most willing to pay higher admission if the extra money went to the local community (28% as opposed to 22% at Champaner-Pavagadh and 20% at Sanchi), or to providing access to local tribal villages (10.5% compared to 4% at Sanchi and 3% at Champaner-Pavagadh), despite

being significantly less aware of any actual local villages. With regard to providing access and tours to tribal villages, this result can be explained by the fact that the paintings at Bhimbetka are more obviously associated with tribal culture than are the monuments at Sanchi or Champaner-Pavagadh.

The difference in willingness to directly support local communities at the other sites however may reflect less a favouring of the Bhimbetka communities, and more of a disfavour towards those in Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh. At Sanchi the villages appear completely separated from the site by its walls and therefore alien to it, despite being close by. At Champaner-Pavagadh on the other hand the local community inhabits the site, and the disfavour seems to be based on religious grounds. Despite the fact that the local community is predominantly Hindu, Hindu visitors were significantly unlikely to want to financially support them ($p = 0.004497751$), which was not the case at the other sites.

At Bhimbetka in particular, World Heritage status seemed to be associated with the importance of the local environment and communities for many visitors. Of visitors who said that they expected World Heritage sites to benefit local communities, a significant number were willing to pay more toward the provision of local arts and crafts ($p = 0.02998501$), as well as towards maintenance of the local forest and natural environment ($p = 0.03048476$), both of which also benefit the local residents.

Similarly, at Sanchi those who felt the people who made the monuments were the ancestors of all people also tended to consider World Heritage status as important for tourism ($p = 0.031984008$) and were willing to pay a higher entrance fee if the money went towards providing access or tours to local tribal villages (0.011994). Those who said they were very likely to return also said that they would pay extra if it went to the local community ($p = 0.047476262$) and for access or tours to local tribal villages ($p = 0.002998501$). This suggests that there is the possibility of sustainable, ongoing income for local communities at this site.

The relationship of visitors to people living in the region appears to have had some influence on how willing they were to support the local communities. For example, participants who stated ‘visiting friends/relatives’ as a reason for their visit were more willing to pay a higher fee if the proceeds went to local communities at Bhimbetka ($p = 0.01049475$), in comparison to those who gave the reason of ‘leisure/recreation/holiday’ and were significantly unlikely to do so at both Bhimbetka and Sanchi ($p = 0.02748626$ and $p = 0.00149925$ respectively).

Sex played some role in visitor willingness to support the local communities at Champaner-Pavagadh, with women being much more likely than men to be willing to pay extra for local arts and crafts (p = 0.019490255).

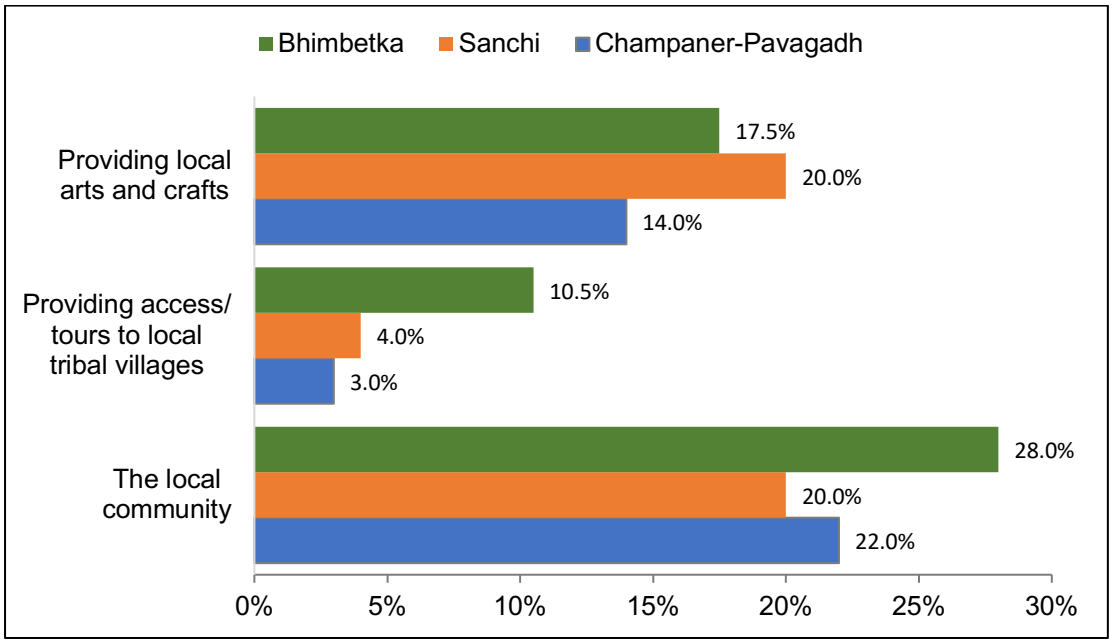



Figure 130: Visitor survey responses to question 18, "Would you be willing to pay more if the money went towards: The local community / Providing access/tours to local tribal villages / Providing local arts and crafts?"

The linking by visitors of the perceived culture of the local communities with their relevance to the sites was further shown in question 20. When asked how important the communities were for understanding the site, Bhimbetka once again received the largest number of highly positive responses (see Figure 131). In this case however visitors did perceive the local community at Champaner-Pavagadh as important for understanding, despite their reluctance to fund it. This was highly correlated with religious background at that particular site, where Muslims were significantly likely to say the local communities were important for understanding while Hindus were highly unlikely to do so (p = 0.00149925).

Age and education were both correlated with attributing importance to local communities for understanding the site at Bhimbetka, with these visitors likely to have a higher education degree (0.011994) and be aged 35 or above (p = 0.01649175). They were also likely to have read about the site before visiting (p = 0.0009995).

At Bhimbetka and Champaner-Pavagadh those visitors who believed local communities were important for understanding the site were also significantly likely to give high priority to preserving local cultural traditions (p = 0.00597 and p = 0.019490255 respectively).

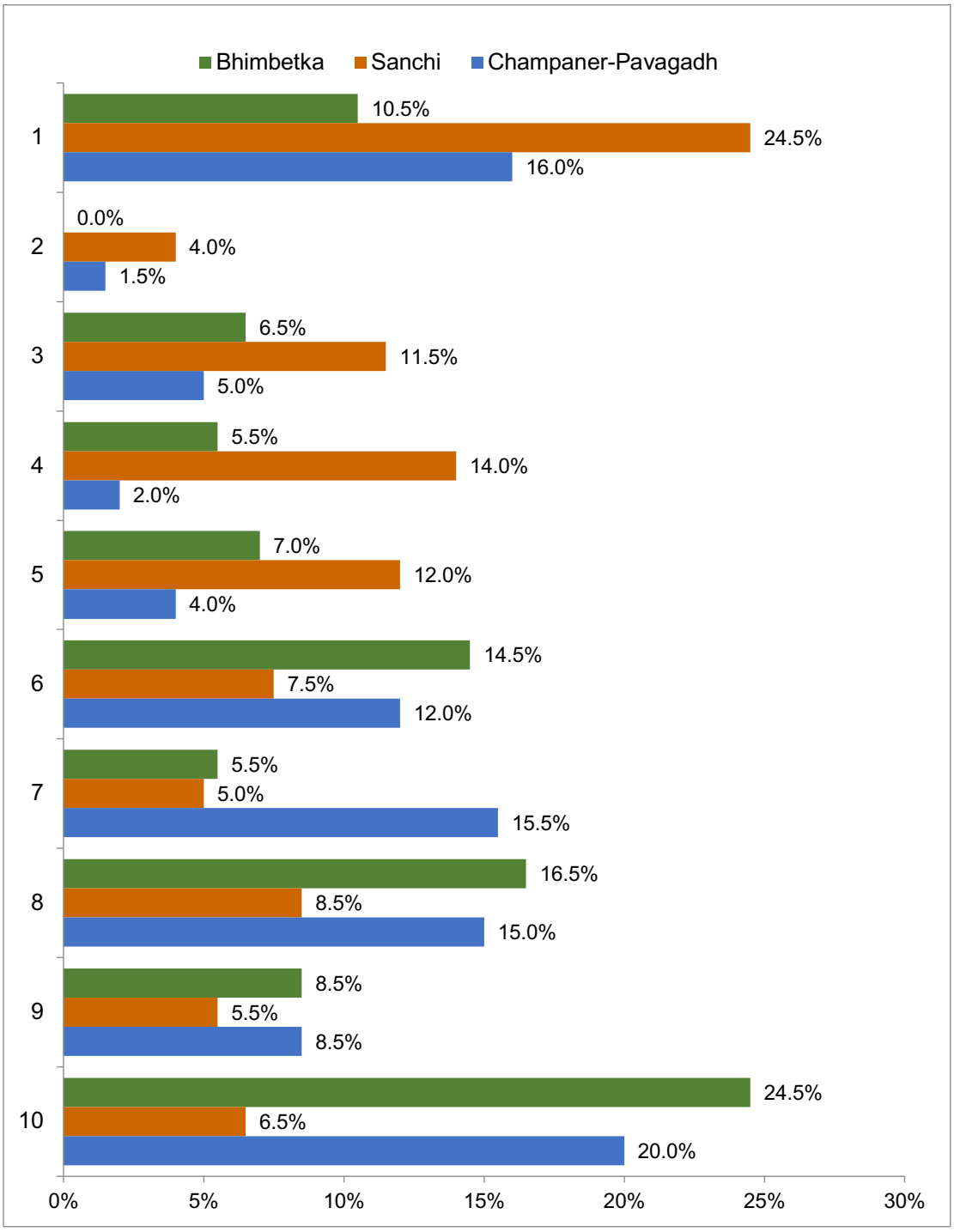



Figure 131: Visitor survey responses to question 20, "How important are the following things for understanding this site: The local communities?"

When visitors were asked what priority things should have for the sites in question 21 (see Figure 132), their responses regarding the preservation of local cultural traditions were largely in line with those from question 20. Interestingly tourism and economic development was given the highest priority at Champaner-Pavagadh however (51% compared to 42.5% at Bhimbetka and 40% at Sanchi). Once again however this result can

be explained by visitors being able to experience the village at Champaner directly, and therefore being better able to appreciate the difference that development would make.

At Bhimbetka priority to preserving local cultural traditions, was correlated with having a higher education background ($p = 0.01449275$) and being aged 35 and above ($p = 0.03448276$). Visitors to Bhimbetka who understood World Heritage status to mean 'to be protected' also tended to give the protection of local cultural tradition a high priority ($p = 0.01049475$), implying that they saw the local communities as an integral part of the sites. Those who prioritised preservation of local cultural traditions at Bhimbetka seem to have been somewhat predisposed to this, as they also tended to give 'cultural heritage' as one of their reasons for having visited to begin with ($p = 0.001999$).

At Sanchi, those who would prioritise supporting local communities were also prepared to do so themselves. Those who felt preservation of local cultural tradition was important were also willing to pay higher admission for the provision of local arts and crafts ($p = 0.03948026$).

A similar result was found at Champaner-Pavagadh, where visitors who felt that tourism and economic development should be a priority were also very likely to say that local communities were important for understanding the site ($p = 0.048475762$) and to be willing to pay higher admission if the funds went to them ($p = 0.014492754$). Those visitors with higher education degrees were also likely to believe that World Heritage status was particularly important due to benefits for the local economy ($p = 0.00049975$). And again religion was a factor at Champaner-Pavagadh, with Muslims likely in favour of prioritising preserving local cultural traditions and Hindus likely not ($p = 0.004497751$).

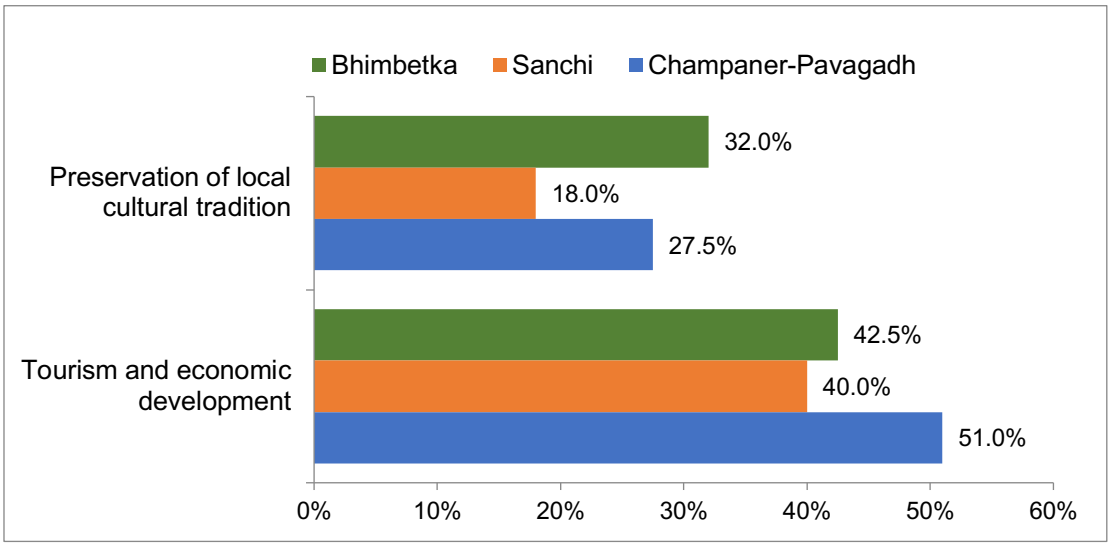



Figure 132: Visitor survey responses to question 21, "What priority should the following things have for this site: Preservation of local cultural tradition / Tourism and economic development?"

Visitors perceptions of the relationship between the communities and the sites were further explored in question 22, which asked them in part whether they agreed that the sites' creators were the ancestors of the current residents or not (see Figure 133). Interestingly the most visitors believed this to be the case at Champaner-Pavagadh, even though it is at this site that the best documentation to the contrary exists. As no information on the relationship with the communities is made available at the sites, it seems likely that this view is based more or less on the age of the sites, with ancestry being more likely at the younger sites, while too much time had passed at Bhimbetka for direct continuity to be as likely. This was reflected in informal comments such as:

> "The pre-historic people who lived in these caves are long since gone."
>
> *Bhimbetka participant number 187*

> "This is a living city still, though locals are not much help to explain their own place."
>
> *Champaner-Pavagadh participant number 54*

At Bhimbetka, visitors' place of origin was correlated with how strongly they believed the current local communities to be the descendants of those who made the paintings. Those who strongly agreed with this were significantly likely to also come from Madhya Pradesh ($p = 0.04697651$), and to personally identify with the site because they lived in the area ($p = 0.03998001$), possibly implying a greater familiarity with the longstanding residency of those communities. Those who also felt that the people who had made the paintings were their own ancestors were also likely to say that the local communities were important for

understanding the site (p = 0.04197901), implying a sense of shared identity with those communities also.

At Sanchi visitors who assigned a descendant identity to the local communities were also significantly willing to support them as part of their visit and pay extra admission if access or tours to local tribal villages were provided (p = 0.008995502).

At Champaner-Pavagadh religion was again a visible factor, with visitors who said that the people who built the monuments were their own ancestors much more likely to be Muslim than Hindu (p = 0.002499) and very likely to give preservation of local cultural tradition a high priority (p = 0.003498), implying both a vested interest and a sense of cultural continuity. Here age and education were also factors, with those in the 15-34 age group being more likely to say that the people who built the monuments were the ancestors of the people living in the area today (p = 0.044978). This opinion was also more likely to be held by visitors with higher education (p = 0.014993).

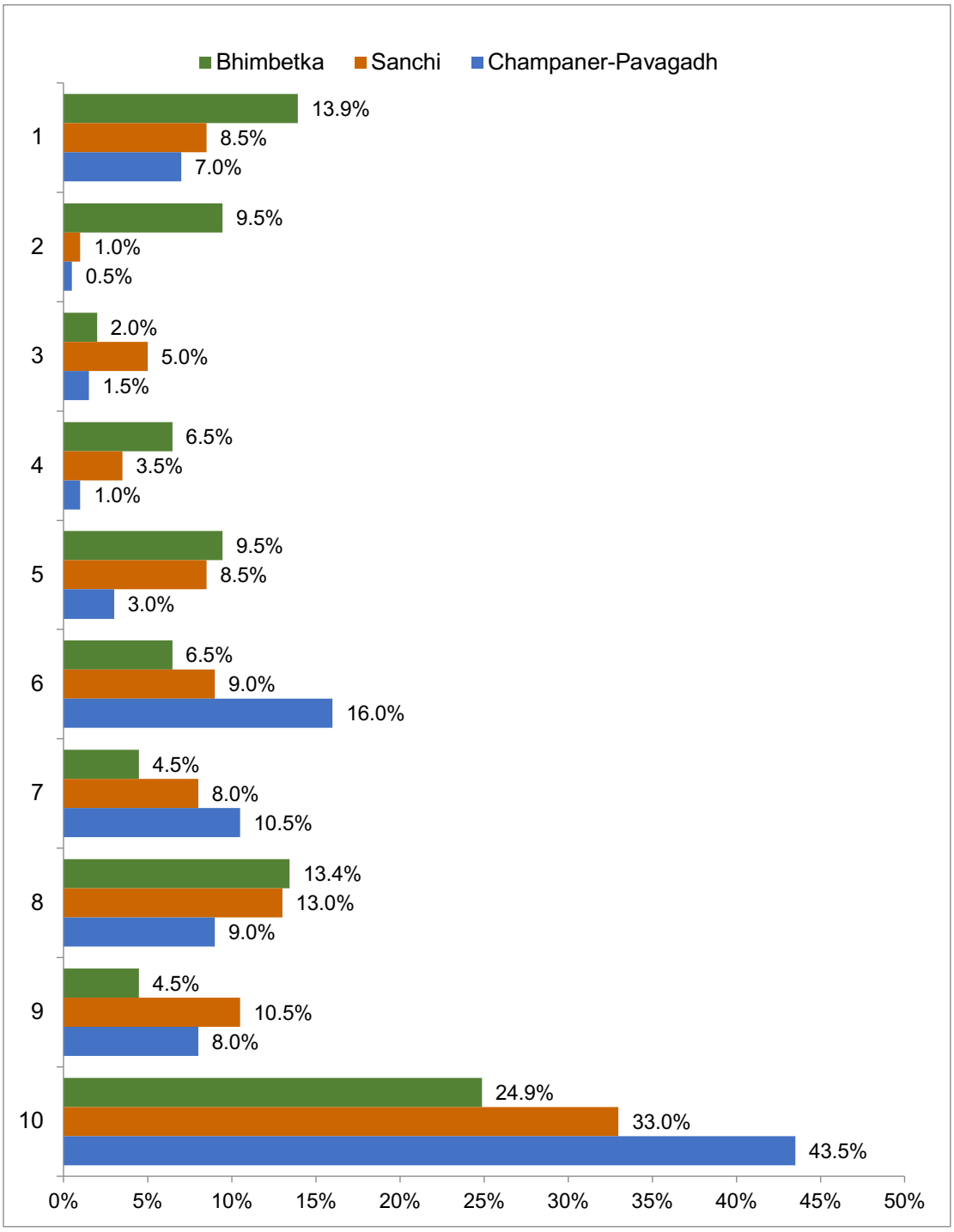



Figure 133: Visitor survey responses to question 22, “To what extent do you agree with the following statements about the people who [created the site]: They were the ancestors of the people who live in this area today?”

Finally, the participants were asked whether they had learnt about local history or local communities during their visit. Once again the results largely mirrored the degree to which the visitors were exposed to the local villages and saw the sites as interrelated with them, with learning about local history most reported at Champaner-Pavagadh with 23%, followed by Sanchi at 21% and Bhimbetka at 18% (see Figure 134). Also in line with the

lack of information about the local communities provided on the sites, only 2.5% of visitors at Champaner-Pavagadh reported having learnt anything about them, with even less at Sanchi and Bhimbetka at 1% each.

Nonetheless, at Sanchi those who said they had learnt about local history during their visit were also very likely to say that the local communities were very important for understanding the site ($p = 0.0009995$). Similarly, at Champaner-Pavagadh, those who claimed to have learned about local history during their visit were also more likely to say that the people who built the monuments were the ancestors of the people living in the area today ($p = 0.004498$), and that tourism and economic development should have high priority ($p = 0.025987006$).

Place of origin was correlated with how visitors answered this question as well. At Sanchi for example, those from Madhya Pradesh were significantly more likely to say that they had learnt about local history ($p = 0.0009995$) or their own past while visiting ($p = 0.00049975$). At Champaner-Pavagadh, those from Gujarat were more likely to say that they had learnt about their past during their visit ($p = 0.001$).

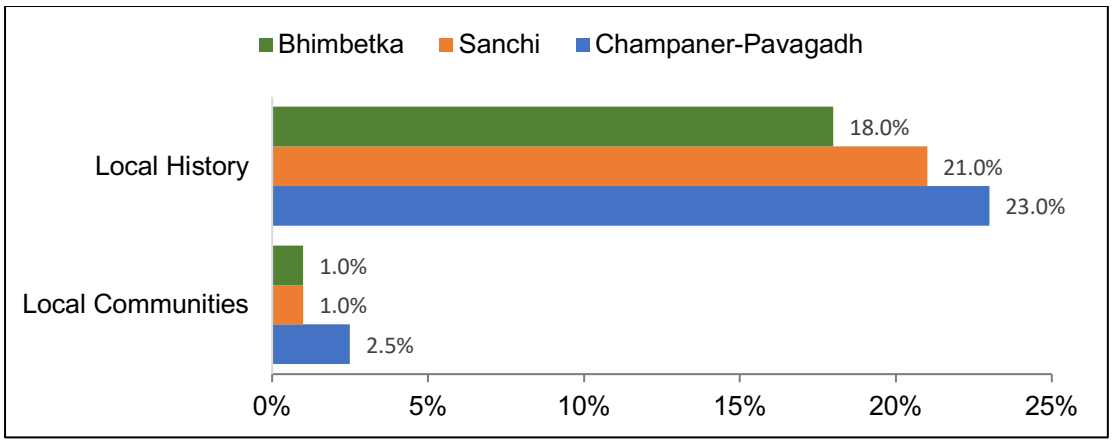



Figure 134: Visitor survey responses to question 25, “What have you learnt by visiting [site] today: Local History / Local Communities?”

#### *6.3.4.2 Villages*

As with the survey of visitors, the village survey investigated the way in which the local communities benefited from the World Heritage sites. The following questions looked at this directly:

- 6: "Did you know that [site] is a World Heritage site?"
- 7: "Is it important that [site] is a World Heritage site?"
- 8: "Does the World Heritage site benefit you?"

Question 6 was also analysed for research question two (see Figure 105), where it was seen that local knowledge of World Heritage status at the three sites was mixed. It was highest at 95% at Champaner-Pavagadh, matching claim in the 2012 periodic report that it was “excellent” (UNESCO 2012, 9), and where much of the community is located in the core zone and subject to the most extreme limitations on building of any of the sites, and among those who had lived in the area for 20-100 years. The lower awareness at Bhimbetka (65%) and Sanchi (50%) was somewhat surprising and indicated that the communities were unlikely to have benefited from their local sites’ World Heritage designations in terms of learning.

When asked whether World Heritage status was important, the results were mixed (see Figure 135). At Bhimbetka it was strongly felt that the status made no difference (85%), with no contribution to the local economy. At Sanchi this feeling was less strong, with 65% saying it made no difference, likely because of more benefit to the local community (15%) due to more hotels nearby supporting tourism. Residents at Champaner-Pavagadh had the most positive view of World Heritage status, with only 45% saying it had no effect, 35% saying that it was important for tourism, and 30% that it was good for the local economy.

Education seems to have influenced residents’ views on tourism at Sanchi, where having achieved secondary education was correlated with believing that World Heritage status was good for the local economy ($p = 0.0014993$), while a primary-only education was correlated with saying that it made no difference ($p = 0.0174913$).

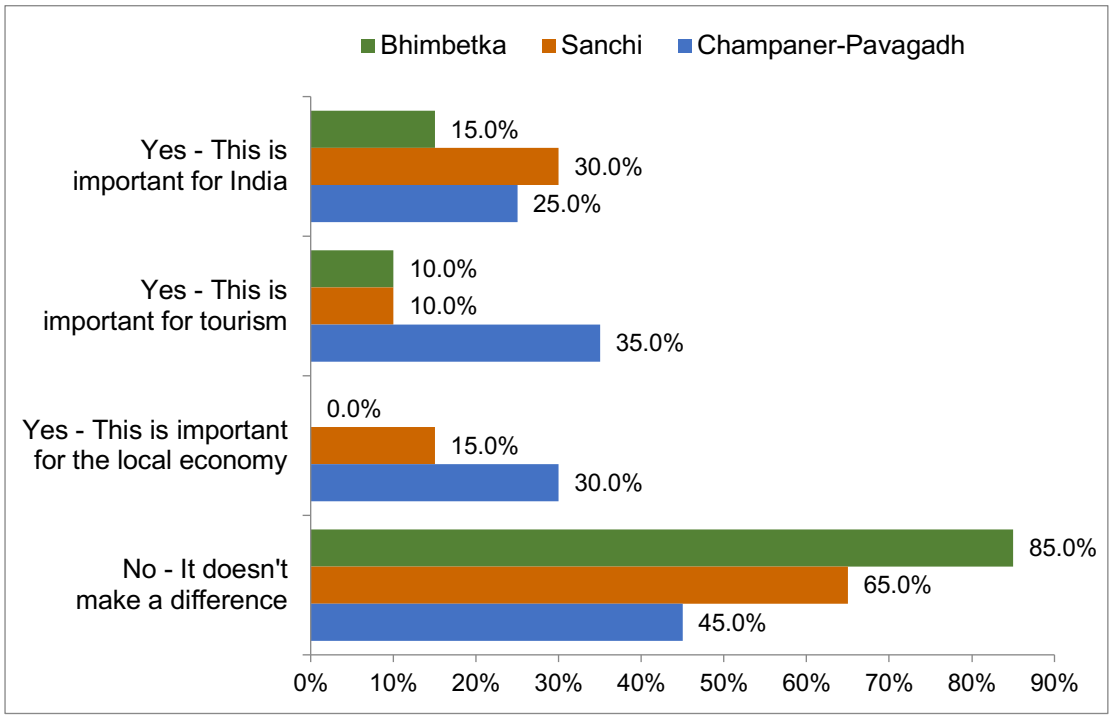



Figure 135: Village survey responses to question 7, “Is it important that [site] is a World Heritage site?”

The results of question 7 were largely mirrored when residents were asked more specifically whether the World Heritage site benefited them directly (see Figure 136). At Bhimbetka, 95% of locals said that it made no difference at all, resulting in no additional income for them or their villages. At the same time 30% said that it restricted them too much. Informal comments indicated that this was due to restrictions on use of the forest for grazing cattle.

At Sanchi perceived benefit was higher, with only 60% saying that World Heritage status made no difference and 10% of residents saying that they earned some money from visitors, but still no additional resources being reported for the villages.

At Champaner-Pavagadh only 45% said that the status made no difference, with 15% earning some income from the visitors and saying that their village had more resources as a result. 40% of the Champaner-Pavagadh respondents however said that World-Heritage Status made things worse, with 35% saying that it restricted them too much. Once again this is predominantly due to much of the community being located within the site’s core zone, and therefore highly restricted in terms of building. At Champaner-Pavagadh, residents saying that they made money from visitors themselves was correlated with saying that World Heritage status was both important for the local economy ($p = 0.005997$)

and for tourism (p = 0.011994). The negative view of the site was however reflected in the following comment:

> "There are too many restrictions from high up because of the Muslim buildings."
>
> *Champaner-Pavagadh participant number 17*

This again negates the claim in the 2012 report that the communities have a good relationship with the ASI and "directly participate in all relevant decisions relating to management, i.e. co-management" of the site (UNESCO 2012, 7).

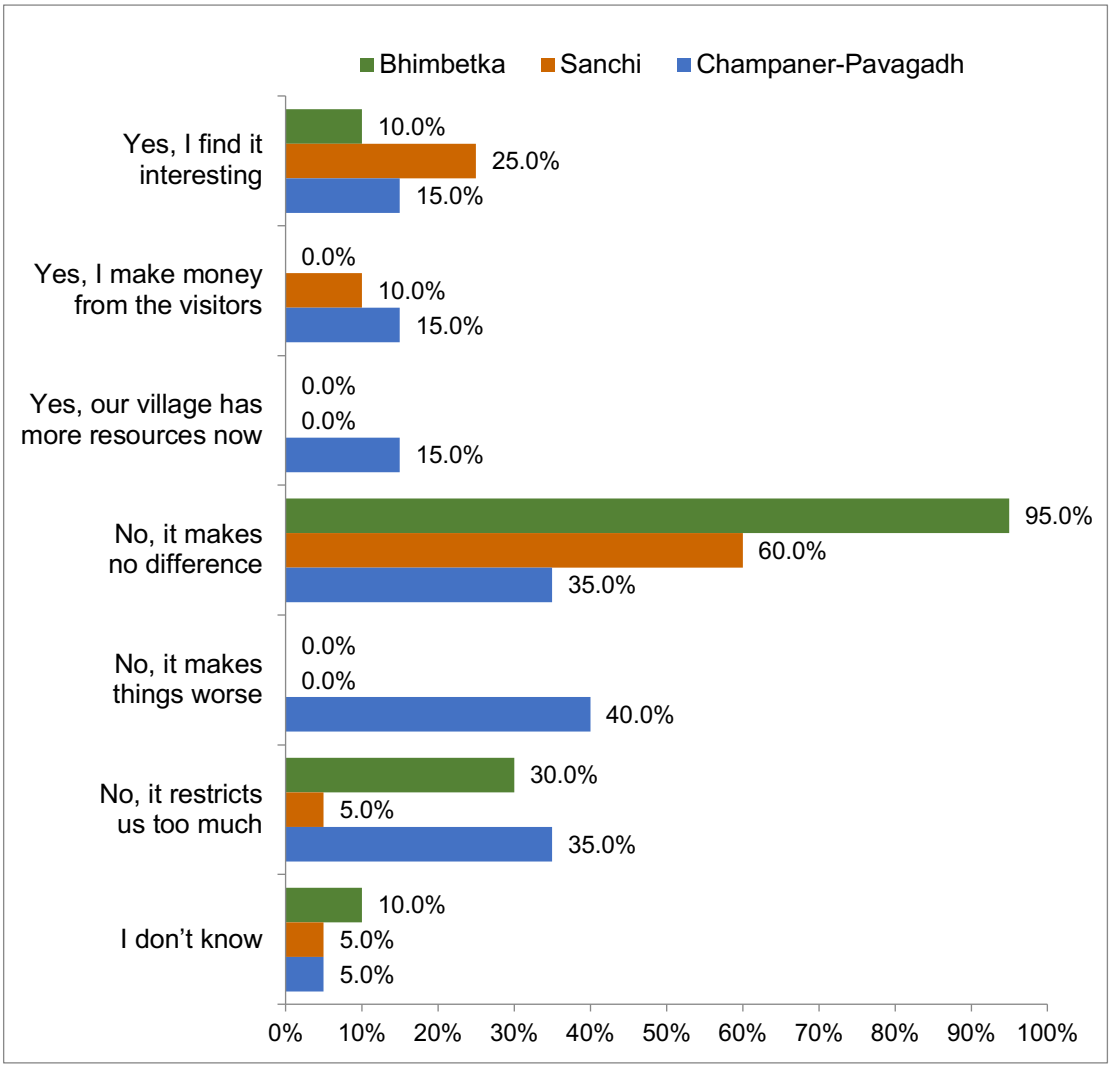



Figure 136: Village survey responses to question 8, "Does the World Heritage site benefit you?"

#### *6.3.4.3 Summary*

The assessment of how important local communities are to Indian World Heritage sites, and whether the sites benefit the local communities, found first of all that visitor awareness

of the local communities was relatively low. This largely mirrored the visibility and accessibility of the villages at the sites, being highest at Champaner, and lowest at Bhimbetka. This was related to how important visitors felt the communities were for the sites, but the correlation was not as strong as might have been expected, showing that other factors were at work, where villages at Bhimbetka for example were thought important despite their lack of visibility due to a perceived tribal background of the site.

Visitor willingness to contribute to local communities was not high, perhaps linked to this general lack of awareness. Once again however the perception of tribal links to the site at Bhimbetka, as well as World Heritage status being seen as linked to environment and communities as well, meant that visitors were more likely to support visits to them or direct financial support. At Sanchi this support was limited to those who felt they were descended from the original inhabitants, and at Champaner-Pavagadh it was very low.

There was a link however between visitors who felt local communities were important and their willingness to support them personally. At Sanchi this translated to a desire to pay for local arts and crafts, while at Champaner-Pavagadh it was related to a willingness to pay to support the communities directly, in line with a concern that tourism and economic development should be a priority for the site.

Visitor approaches to the local communities were found to be correlated with age and education level, with those in the 35 and above age group with higher education at Bhimbetka assigning more importance to the communities and wanting to prioritise preserving local cultural traditions. At Champaner these groups were more willing to attribute descent from the site’s creators to the residents.

This attribution was linked with visitors' place of origin at Bhimbetka, with those from Madhya Pradesh also more likely to identify with the site through local familiarity and being more willing to support the communities. Coming from the local region was also associated with having learnt about local history at Sanchi, and having learnt about their own past at Champaner-Pavagadh.

As found with all previous questions, visitors’ religion was again found to be salient at Champaner-Pavagadh. Despite the mixed cultural background of the site and the current Hindu-majority population of the villages, Muslims were clearly likely to say that local communities were important for understanding the sites and to give preserving local cultural traditions high priority, while Hindus were not.

Also in common with the analysis of research question 3, the relationship of visitors to the local communities was influenced by the amount and quality of information available on the sites. Almost none of the visitors to any of the sites reported having learnt about local history, although those who did at Sanchi were then also likely to attribute importance to the local communities for understanding the site. Contrary to fact however, the most visitors attributed descent from the site's builders to the local residents at Champaner-Pavagadh, then Sanchi and Bhimbetka and this seemed to be related to a perception that relatedness must increase with recency.

The local communities' awareness of their sites' World Heritage status, consideration as to whether it was important, and feeling that it did or did not benefit them directly, followed a consistent pattern. Awareness of World Heritage status was highest at Champaner-Pavagadh, largely due to much of the community being located in the core zone, but much lower at Bhimbetka and Sanchi. Residents' consideration of the importance of the World Heritage status was correspondingly higher at Champaner-Pavagadh, followed by Sanchi, and then Bhimbetka where it was largely felt to make no difference.

Finally, in the same pattern almost all residents at Bhimbetka reported that the site's status made no difference to them personally, followed by just over half at Sanchi and one-third at Champaner-Pavagadh. While a small number of residents at Sanchi and Champaner-Pavagadh reported making money from visitors, overall the feedback was negative, with around a third of residents at Bhimbetka and Champaner-Pavagadh saying that the sites restricted them too much, and 40% at the latter site claiming that it made their lives worse.

In all cases the local communities would benefit from a better understanding of the sites' history and the significance of World Heritage status. At Bhimbetka in particular there is opportunity for more integration with the villages and a greater role for them as visitors seem especially well disposed to this. The local communities would also likely receive significant material support from visitors if their connections to their sites were made factually clear. There is a big opportunity at Champaner-Pavagadh in particular for the site to address misconceptions about its cultural history and of the role of the current local communities.

# 7 Summary and Conclusions

Indian identities are complex and have many elements and influences, including varying perceptions of time and history. A range of approaches to identity theory were identified for use in analyzing the results of this research, drawing from psychoanalytical, social-psychological and sociological approaches. Various aspects of Indian identity were summarized, including issues of the subaltern, and the development of these was tracked through history as further background to the case studies.

Forms of archaeology have a long history in India, extending back to the 5th century CE. During the colonial period archaeology was directed by both the colonial administration and the princely states. Native Indian archaeologists were active throughout the colonial period, initially as poorly recognized assistants, but with increasing responsibilities as the ASI developed they were fully ready to take over on independence. State archaeology departments and university courses now proliferated as well, and the volume of archaeological work in the country expanded greatly. At this point India was poised to take a post-colonial approach to archaeology, which in many respects it has. The right-wing influence of the Hindutva movement however has meant that in many cases archaeology has been coopted as a tool for nationalist and communal interests, and the visitor surveys conducted in this research show that communal perspectives also inform the way that the Indian public approaches heritage.

In parallel to this India has enacted comprehensive heritage legislation and ratified relevant international conventions. Mainly designed to regulate the protection and conservation of the country's archaeological heritage, these acts are nonetheless not always optimally implemented due to lack of resources and the sheer scale of the territory involved. In particular they have been powerless to prevent the destruction of heritage during communal violence such as that in Gujarat, and as this thesis shows, archaeological sites such as Champaner-Pavagadh continue to stoke contention.

India has in particular enthusiastically exercised its role under the UNESCO Convention concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (UNESCO 1972) and is prominent among countries with the most sites on the World Heritage list.

The public perception of archaeology and approach to engaging with it is therefore shaped by exposure to its colonial, post-independence, and nationalist dimensions, and then by interactions with the ASI and state archaeologists who enforce heritage legislation that aims to protect sites, but at the same time can be restrictive for communities undergoing

population growth and reliant on accessing natural resources encompassed by those same sites. This research has found clear signs of all of these influences.

The thesis takes an approach to data collection and analysis that is grounded in public archaeology informed by a range of identity theory and in particular subaltern studies perspectives. It utilizes a case study approach, with background research and surveys conducted at three separate World Heritage sites for the purpose of comparison. The fieldwork took place mainly between 2010-2015 and included both visitors to the sites as well as local community members living on and around the sites. The 660 surveys carried out employed a mixture of quantitative and qualitative questions, and the statistical significance of correlations was calculated. Those interviewed were largely representative of the domestic and visitor populations, except for the village surveys, where a lower proportion of women were represented.

The case studies carried out were at three sites in Central India with different kinds of heritage: Bhimbetka with painted rock shelters dating from 100,000-1,000 years BP and Sanchi with Buddhist monuments dating from 2,275 years BP, are both in Madhya Pradesh, while to the West in Gujarat Champaner-Pavagadh comprises mixed Muslim, Hindu and Jain monuments dating to 1,000 years BP.

At all three sites local communities live within the buffer zones, and at Champaner-Pavagadh within the core zone as well. With long tribal histories in both states, Madhya Pradesh still has a high proportion of tribal residents, while Gujarat has been more subject to migration and dilution. At all sites the local communities comprise a large number of subaltern members. In both states tourism, particularly domestic, is growing quickly due to government promotion. All three sites have been excavated to some degree and are currently managed with differing approaches by the ASI.

The thesis first asked how visitors and local communities relate to Indian World Heritage sites in terms of identity. Visitors to the sites did clearly relate to them in terms of identity, and this was positively correlated with living in the same state, having a higher level of education, and the amount of interpretive information available on-site. Religion was a positive factor at Sanchi, but a negative one at Champaner-Pavagadh, where despite the mixed cultural background of the site Hindus were much less likely to identify with, or to attribute significance to it.

In regard to the local communities, historical reviews of the case study areas showed that local populations and in particular tribal groups had been present at the sites for significant

periods of time relative to the ages of the sites. The village surveys found that identification with the sites was strongest at Bhimbetka, where the larger local tribal population and higher number of ST participants in the survey was clearly reflected in a strong belief that local people and scheduled tribe members were most related to those who had created the paintings on the site, and that there was a degree of continuity from that population to the modern one.

Three kinds of identity processes appear to be at work. Hindu visitors to Champaner-Pavagadh seem to be basing their level of identification with the site around the Other of Islam, by which they undermine and negate its importance. This process is likely amplified both by the current communal tensions in the area, and by a general lack of on-site information explaining the mixed cultural background of the site. In all cases visitors expressed a closer identification from sites if they were from the same state however, which indicated a process of identity-formation that was less outward looking. At Bhimbetka, tribal identity seemed to be given high priority as it provided an opportunity for prominence in the context of the site.

The historical investigations carried out highlighted that contrary to standard Western beliefs, India does have a clear historical understanding and a tradition of investigating the past. The ways in which the Indian World Heritage sites studied help visitors and local communities to understand the past today was found to be varied. The religion of visitors was particularly correlated with how willing they were to attribute importance to sites or say that they had learned from them. Muslims and Buddhists made positive comments about learning at Champaner-Pavagadh and Sanchi respectively, while Hindus tended to be negative, particularly at the former site. Once again this seemed to be related to a lack of on-site interpretive information to provide context, both of the particular culture of the sites themselves and of why they are valued as World Heritage. This could be improved at all sites, but is particularly missing at Champaner-Pavagadh, where it would also be most useful in providing context and counterpoint within the current communal tensions.

Outreach and education among the local communities could be much improved, as knowledge of the World Heritage status and age of the sites was poor, particularly at Bhimbetka and Sanchi. This is critical if the communities are to benefit from the sites, as they require an adequate understanding of their significance and relation to themselves and their environment.

The importance of archaeology to India is apparent in the long history of its investigation, the extensive legislation enacted to protect it, and its salience in current events. When

known about, the contribution of archaeology was clearly valued by visitors. This correlated strongly with educational level, which demonstrated that archaeology is something that requires background knowledge in order to be appreciated. The degree of visibility of archaeological work, both in terms of excavations and preservation, also seemed to lead to it being valued more, and visitors who understood it were willing to contribute towards it financially with their entrance fees.

Negative correlations for visitors were mainly only found at Champaner-Pavagadh. Religion was again a factor, with Hindu visitors being consistently against archaeological research and preservation at the site.

Despite the potential of archaeology to highlight their close relationship to the sites studied (e.g. at Sanchi), the local communities at all sites were generally not positive about the discipline, likely in part because of a lack of higher education, low knowledge of how it was used to learn about the sites, and a perception that archaeology and the ASI comprise an elite rather than inclusive knowledge and power system. At both Bhimbetka and Champaner-Pavagadh restrictions placed on use of land within the boundaries of the World Heritage sites further enhanced this latter perception. Where the restrictions placed on communities by the sites cannot be relaxed, there are still a large number of possibilities for increased interaction between the sites, communities and visitors which could provide sufficient benefits to counter-balance this.

As discussed above, visitors often perceived links between the sites and the local communities as well as expressing a desire to visit and financially support them, while the communities themselves ranged from strong identification at Bhimbetka to more ambivalent relationships at the other sites. Both the sites and the communities would benefit from closer relationships between them, the one from improved context and visitor appeal, and the other from stronger recognition and economic advantage.

Other than at Champaner village, which is in the core zone of its site, visitor awareness of local villages was very low, due to both a lack of visibility and inclusion in contextual information presented on-site. As mentioned above, corresponding awareness of the World Heritage status of the sites and its significance was also limited among the communities.

Due to restrictions placed on the communities with regard to use of forest land and within the World Heritage zones a significant number of residents in fact consider the sites to be too restrictive, and additional constraints on building within Champaner village are felt to

make life appreciably worse there. There is therefore great potential importance and benefit of the sites for the communities and vice versa, but this is not currently being realized.

Indian heritage and archaeology, including World Heritage sites, play important roles in informing Indian identities and understandings of the past, as well as great potential to include and benefit local communities and disadvantaged cultural groups. This thesis has identified several key ways in which the communication and practice of archaeology in India could contribute to all of these areas more effectively.

Basic concepts of archaeology could be introduced earlier in the Indian curriculum so that more people were able to interpret sites and understand the role of archaeologists. This research has shown that higher levels of education are clearly correlated with a greater appreciation for the archaeology of the sites studied, and as discussed in chapter two this is also vital for equipping the public with a critical capability for interpreting the claims of nationalist groups. This could be coupled with significantly better on-site archaeological information and interpretation at the three World Heritage sites studied. This would be especially beneficial at Champaner-Pavagadh, where the site is particularly poorly understood along communal lines by visitors, but it was evident that this was something that was happening at the other sites as well, even if to a lesser degree.

Local communities would also benefit from an enhanced understanding of the details and significance of the World Heritage status of the sites within which they reside. This is particularly important as they often show strong identification with the sites but are unaware of how to benefit from their relationships with them. The World Heritage sites themselves could benefit from increased interaction with local communities, in particular as visitors have been shown to appreciate and be willing to support this, and first steps could involve providing greater visibility and access to the local villages and helping them to benefit. Even simply providing visibility and the sale of arts and crafts from local villages can give those communities the opportunity to speak to some extent on their own terms. While Western academics cannot presume to speak for subaltern communities, I believe that involving those communities in the research and management of archaeological sites in India is critical, and hope that the findings of this thesis can be built upon in order to help realise this.

Recommendations for future work therefore include additional and larger surveys of local communities at both World Heritage and other archaeological sites. Ideally these surveys would include more women, and more qualitative elements to allow participants to present

their views in a fuller, less guided fashion. Work looking specifically at the interpretive material available on Indian sites, how it is consumed, and making recommendations for its improvement would be useful. More studies of culturally mixed and syncretic sites would provide an important counterpoint to emerging communally-oriented historical reinterpretations. Associated with this, it is also important for work to continue to document the heritage-related policies of current and future Indian governments and their impact on archaeology and identity.

As it stands at the moment, the archaeology of World Heritage sites in India continues to be an essentially elite project, albeit with great potential to involve and benefit communities and indigenous groups. It would make an important difference if archaeology were able to better contribute as described above, in particular to provide a counterbalance to its being co-opted to right-wing and communal causes.

# References

### Abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| AIU | Association of Indian Universities |
| ASI | Archaeological Survey of India |
| BHU | Benares Hindu University |
| ANCBS | Association of National Committees of the Blue Shield |
| CIA | Central Intelligence Agency |
| CPAPWHAM | Champaner-Pavagadh Archaeological Park World Heritage Area Management Authority |
| DCO MP | Directorate of Census Operations, Madhya Pradesh |
| DLAUIUC | Department of Landscape Architecture, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign |
| DOE | Department of Education, Government of India |
| ECI | Electoral Commission of India |
| FSI | Forest Survey of India |
| GBACYD | Government of Bihar, Art, Culture and Youth Department |
| GGDAA | Government of Goa, Directorate of Archives and Archaeology |
| GHDAM | Government of Hayana, Directorship of Archaeology and Museums |
| GHP | Government of Himachal Pradesh |
| GIDB | Gujarat Infrastructure Development Board |
| GKDA | Government of Kerala, Department of Archaeology |
| GKDAMH | Government of Karnataka, Department of Archaeology Museums and Heritage |
| GMSAACD | Government of Manipur, State Art, Archaeology and Culture Department |
| GNCTD | Government of NCT of Delhi |
| GOOSA | Government of Odisha, Odisha State Archaeology |
| Gov. An.P. | Government of Andhra Pradesh |
| Gov. Ar.P. | Government of Arunachal Pradesh |
| Gov. H.P. | Government of Himachal Pradesh |
| Gov. J.K. | Government of Jammu and Kashmir |
| Gov. M.P. | Government of Madhya Pradesh |
| Gov. T.N. | Government of Tamil Nadu |
| Gov. U.P. | Government of Uttar Pradesh |
| Gov. W.B. | Government of West Bengal |
| GRDAM | Government of Rajasthan, Department of Archaeology and Museums |
| GSSYCAD | Gujarat State, Sports, Youth and Cultural Activities Department |
| GTNDA | Government of Tamil Nadu, Department of Archaeology |
| GUPDA | Government of Uttar Pradesh, Directorate of Archaeology |
| ICOMOS | International Council on Monuments and Sites |
| ICRC | International Committee of the Red Cross |
| IOR | India Office Records |
| ISC | Indian States Committee |
| MGLI | Mahatma Gandhi Labour Institute |
| MPSTDC | Madhya Pradesh State Tourism Development Corporation |
| MSUB | MS University of Baroda |
| NCAER | National Council of Applied Economic Research |
| NCBC | National Commission for Backward Classes |
| NICMSU | National Informatics Centre, Mizoram State Unit |
| NSIC | Nagaland State Information Commission |
| PHC | People for Heritage Concern |
| PSAAM | Punjab State Archives and Archaeology Museum |

| | |
|---|---|
| RULAC | Rule of Law in Armed Conflicts Project |
| SCTTC | Standing Committee on Transport, Tourism and Culture |
| TCG | Tourism Corporation of Gujarat |
| TEW | The Economic Weekly |
| ToI | Times of India |
| UA | University of Allahabad |
| UCL | University College London |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Programme |
| UNESCO | United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization |
| UNICEF | United Nations Children's Fund |
| UNIDROIT | International Institute for the Unification of Private Law |
| WMF | World Monuments Fund |
| WTTC | World Travel and Tourism Council |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# Appendix 1: Survey questionnaires

## 7.1 Visitor surveys

### 7.1.1 Bhimbetka: English questionnaire form

1 Have you come to Bhimbetka:

| | |
|---|---|
| Specifically? | ☐ |
| As part of a bigger tour? | ☐ |
| Because it is close to another site that you are visiting? | ☐ |

2 What is the purpose of your visit?

(Multiple answer)

| | |
|---|---|
| Leisure, recreation, holiday | ☐ |
| Visiting friends and relatives | ☐ |
| Business and professional | ☐ |
| Religion / pilgrimage | ☐ |
| Historical interest | ☐ |
| Cultural heritage | ☐ |
| The natural environment | ☐ |
| Just a casual visit while passing through the area | ☐ |
| Other: _____ | ☐ |

3 How did you learn about the site before you came?

(Multiple answer)

| | |
|---|---|
| TV | ☐ |
| MP Tourism website | ☐ |
| Other website | ☐ |
| Books | ☐ |
| Referral by friends and relatives | ☐ |
| Brochures/pamphlets | ☐ |
| Personal referrals | ☐ |
| Newspapers | ☐ |
| Magazines | ☐ |
| Tourism bureau | ☐ |
| Radio | ☐ |

Random/impulse decision
Business colleagues
Obtained no information beforehand
Other: _____

4 How often do you visit heritage sites (archaeology, museums, old temples etc.)?

Less than once a year
About once a year
2-3 times a year
4-5 times a year
More than 5 times a year

5 Have you visited Bhimbetka before?

No
Yes - once before
Yes 2-3 times
Yes more than 3 times

6 Are you going to stay near Bhimbetka today?

Yes
No

7 How likely are you to come back to Bhimbetka in future?

Very likely
Likely
Unlikely
Very unlikely
Don't know

8 Would you recommend visiting Bhimbetka to someone else?

Yes
No

9 Do you identify yourself with the people who lived here in the past?

(Multiple answer)

- [ ] Yes - I live in this area
- [ ] Yes - This is common human heritage
- [ ] Yes - I find it interesting / I like it
- [ ] Yes - I have studied related things (archaeology, history)
- [ ] Yes - Other: _____
- [ ] No - I am not interested
- [ ] No - I don't know enough about them
- [ ] No - I am not from this area
- [ ] No - I haven't studied related things
- [ ] No - Too distant past
- [ ] No - It has not been well enough promoted
- [ ] No - Other: _____

10 Do you think Bhimbetka is important for India's identity?

(Multiple answer)

- [ ] Yes - This is our national heritage
- [ ] Yes - We should be proud of it
- [ ] Yes - This demonstrates the age of our culture
- [ ] Yes - Other: _____
- [ ] No - Most people don't know about it
- [ ] No - This is not relevant to modern India
- [ ] No - It isn't that special
- [ ] No - Other: _____

11 Do you think Bhimbetka is important for the rest of the world?

(Multiple answer)

- [ ] Yes - This is common human heritage
- [ ] Yes - Everyone should be interested in this
- [ ] Yes - Other: _____
- [ ] No - There are other sites like this in other countries
- [ ] No - Other: _____

12 Did you know that Bhimbetka is a World Heritage Site?

- [ ] Yes

No ☐

13 Is it important that Bhimbetka is a World Heritage Site?

(Multiple answer)

Yes - This is important for India ☐
Yes - This is important for tourism ☐
Yes - This is important for the local economy ☐
Yes - Other: _____ ☐
No - It doesn't make a difference ☐
No - Other: _____ ☐

14 What do you understand by 'World Heritage'?

15 Are you satisfied with the level of the current admission price for the site?

Yes ☐
No ☐

16 To which agency is the admission fee paid?

17 Are you aware of any local or tribal villages at Bhimbetka?

Yes ☐
No ☐

18 Would you be willing to pay more if the money went towards:

(Multiple answer)

| | |
|---|---|
| Additional preservation work for the rock paintings | ☐ |
| The local community | ☐ |
| Better facilities (toilets, shops) | ☐ |
| Providing access/tours to local tribal villages | ☐ |
| More guides | ☐ |
| The museum | ☐ |
| More research on the site | ☐ |
| Providing local arts and crafts | ☐ |
| Maintaining the forest and natural environment | ☐ |

19 Do you think that public money should be spent on the protection and preservation of heritage?

| | |
|---|---|
| Yes | ☐ |
| No | ☐ |

20 How important are the following things for understanding this site?

The rock art

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Very important |

The natural environment

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Very important |

The local communities

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Very important |

Archaeological excavations

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Very important |

21 What priority should the following things have for this site?

Preservation of local cultural tradition

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

Preservation of the rock paintings

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

Preservation of the natural environment

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

Scientific research to understand the site better

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

Tourism and economic development

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

22 To what extent do you agree with the following statements about the people who made the rock paintings?

They were the ancestors of all Indians

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |

They were the ancestors of the people who live in this area today

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |

They were my ancestors

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |

They were the ancestors of all people, not only Indians

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |

It's difficult to say who they were

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |

23 Are you aware of any archaeological excavations at Bhimbetka (now or in the past)?

Yes ☐

No ☐

24 How long ago were the rock paintings at Bhimbetka created?

25 What have you learnt by visiting Bhimbetka today?

26 What is your age group?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | ☐ | 50-54 | ☐ |
| 20-24 | ☐ | 55-59 | ☐ |
| 25-29 | ☐ | 60-64 | ☐ |
| 30-34 | ☐ | 65-69 | ☐ |
| 35-39 | ☐ | 70-74 | ☐ |
| 40-44 | ☐ | 75-79 | ☐ |
| 45-49 | ☐ | 80+ | ☐ |

27 Where are you from?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andhra Pradesh | ☐ | 1 | Nagaland | ☐ | 19 |
| Arunachal Pradesh | ☐ | 2 | Odisha/Orissa | ☐ | 20 |
| Assam | ☐ | 3 | Punjab | ☐ | 21 |
| Bihar | ☐ | 4 | Rajasthan | ☐ | 22 |
| Chhattisgarh | ☐ | 5 | Sikkim | ☐ | 23 |
| Goa | ☐ | 6 | Tamil Nadu | ☐ | 24 |
| Gujarat | ☐ | 7 | Tripura | ☐ | 25 |
| Haryana | ☐ | 8 | Uttar Pradesh | ☐ | 26 |
| Himachal Pradesh | ☐ | 9 | Uttarakhand | ☐ | 27 |
| Jammu and Kashmir | ☐ | 10 | West Bengal | ☐ | 28 |
| Jharkhand | ☐ | 11 | Andaman & Nicobar I. | ☐ | 29 |
| Karnataka | ☐ | 12 | Chandigarh | ☐ | 30 |
| Kerala | ☐ | 13 | Dadra & Nagar Haveli | ☐ | 31 |
| Madhya Pradesh | ☐ | 14 | Daman and Diu | ☐ | 32 |
| Maharashtra | ☐ | 15 | Lakshadweep | ☐ | 33 |
| Manipur | ☐ | 16 | NCT | ☐ | 34 |
| Meghalaya | ☐ | 17 | Pondicherry | ☐ | 35 |
| Mizoram | ☐ | 18 | | | |

Other: _____ ☐ 36

28 What is your mother tongue?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bengali | ☐ | 1 | Bhili | ☐ | 12 |
| Gujarati | ☐ | 2 | Gondi | ☐ | 13 |
| Hindi | ☐ | 3 | Korku | ☐ | 14 |
| Kannada | ☐ | 4 | Kalto | ☐ | 15 |
| Malayalam | ☐ | 5 | Nihali | ☐ | 16 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Marathi | ☐ | 6 | Saraiki | ☐ | 17 |
| Oriya | ☐ | 7 | Pashto | ☐ | 18 |
| Punjabi | ☐ | 8 | Malvi | ☐ | 19 |
| Tamil | ☐ | 9 | Nimadi | ☐ | 20 |
| Telugu | ☐ | 10 | Bundeli | ☐ | 21 |
| Urdu | ☐ | 11 | Bagheli | ☐ | 22 |

Other: _____ ☐ 23

29 What is your religion?

| | |
|---|---|
| Hindu | ☐ |
| Muslim | ☐ |
| Christian | ☐ |
| Sikh | ☐ |
| Buddhist | ☐ |
| Jain | ☐ |
| Other: _____ | ☐ |

30 What is your occupation?

| | |
|---|---|
| Cultivator | ☐ |
| Agricultural labourer | ☐ |
| Worker in Household Industry | ☐ |
| Student | ☐ |
| Household duties | ☐ |
| Dependent | ☐ |
| Pensioner | ☐ |
| Rentier | ☐ |
| Other: _____ | ☐ |

31 What level of education have you reached?

| | |
|---|---|
| Primary | ☐ |
| Secondary | ☐ |
| Higher | ☐ |
| Technical | ☐ |
| Other: _____ | ☐ |

32 What is your sex?

| | |
|---|---|
| Male | ☐ |

Female 

### 7.1.2 Bhimbetka: Hindi questionnaire form

1 आप भीमबेटका के लिए आए हैं:

- [ ] विशेष रूप से?
- [ ] एक बड़ा दौरे के हिस्से के रूप में?
- [ ] क्योंकि यह एक और साइट है कि आप देख रहे हैं के करीब है?

2 आपकी यात्रा का उद्देश्य क्या है?

(एकाधिक जवाब)

- [ ] अवकाश, मनोरंजन, अवकाश
- [ ] मित्रों और रिश्तेदारों का दौरा
- [ ] व्यवसाय और पेशेवर
- [ ] धर्म / तीर्थयात्रा
- [ ] ऐतिहासिक ब्याज
- [ ] सांस्कृतिक विरासत
- [ ] प्राकृतिक पर्यावरण
- [ ] सिर्फ एक आकस्मिक यात्रा क्षेत्र के माध्यम से गुजर रहा है, जबकि
- [ ] अन्य: _____

3 तुम्हारे आने से पहले कैसे आप साइट के बारे में सीखा?

(एकाधिक जवाब)

- [ ] टीवी
- [ ] सांसद पर्यटन वेबसाइट
- [ ] अन्य वेबसाइट
- [ ] पुस्तकें
- [ ] दोतों और रिश्तेदारों द्वारा रेफरल
- [ ] रोशर / पर्चे
- [ ] व्यक्तिगत रेफरल
- [ ] समाचार पत्र
- [ ] पत्रिका
- [ ] पर्यटन ब्यूरो
- [ ] रेडियो
- [ ] रैंडम / आवेग निर्णय
- [ ] यापार सहयोगियों
- [ ] कोई जानकारी पहले से प्राप्त की
- [ ] अन्य: _____

4 कितनी बार आप विरासत स्थलों की यात्रा करते हैं (पुरातत्व, संग्रहालयों, पुराने मंदिरों आदि)?

साल में एक बार कम से कम ☐
के बारे में साल में एक बार ☐
2-3 बार एक साल ☐
4-5 बार एक साल ☐
अधिक से अधिक 5 बार एक साल ☐

5 आप पहले भीमबेटका दौरा किया है?

नहीं ☐
हाँ - एक बार पहले ☐
हाँ 2-3 बार ☐
हाँ अधिक से अधिक 3 बार ☐

6 आप आज भीमबेटका के पास रहने के लिए जा रहे हैं?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

7 कैसे संभावना है कि आप भविष्य में भीमबेटका को वापस आने के लिए कर रहे हैं?

बहुत संभावना है ☐
उपयुक् ☐
संभावना नहीं ☐
अति असंभाव ☐
पता नहीं। ☐

8 तुम किसी और को भीमबेटका का दौरा सिफारिश करेंगे?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

9 आप लोगों को जो यहाँ रहते थे साथ अपने आप को पहचान करते हैं भूतकाल में?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
हाँ - मैं इस क्षेत्र में रहते हैं ☐
हाँ - यह आम इंसान की विरासत है ☐
हाँ - मैं यह दिलचस्प लगता है / मुझे यह पसंद है ☐
हाँ - मैं संबंधित चीजों का अध्ययन किया है (पुरातत्व, इतिहास) ☐

हाँ - अन्य: _____
नहीं - मुझे कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं हूँ
नहीं - मैं उनके बारे में पर्याप्त नहीं पता
नहीं - मैं इस क्षेत्र से नहीं हूं
नहीं - मैं संबंधित चीजों का अध्ययन नहीं किया है
नहीं - बहुत सुदूर अतीत
नहीं - यह काफी अच्छी तरह से नहीं किया गया है पदोन्नत
दूसरा कोई नही: _____

10 या आपको लगता है भीमबेटका भारत की पहचान के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
हाँ - यह हमारी राष्ट्रीय विरासत है
हाँ - हम इस पर गर्व होना चाहिए
हाँ - यह हमारी संस्कृति की उम्र दर्शाता है
हाँ - अन्य: _____
नहीं - अधिकांश लोगों को इसके बारे में पता नहीं है
नहीं - यह आधुनिक भारत के लिए प्रासंगिक नहीं है
नहीं - यह है कि विशेष नहीं है
दूसरा कोई नही: _____

11 या आपको लगता है भीमबेटका बाकी दुनिया के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
हाँ - यह आम इंसान की विरासत है
हाँ - हर कोई इस में रुचि होनी चाहिए
हाँ - अन्य: _____
नहीं - अन्य देशों में इस तरह अन्य साइटों रहे हैं
दूसरा कोई नही: _____

12 आप जानते हैं कि भीमबेटका एक विश्व धरोहर स्थल है?

हाँ
नहीं

13 यह महत्वपूर्ण है कि भीमबेटका एक विश्व धरोहर स्थल है?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
हाँ - यह भारत के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है
हाँ - यह पर्यटन के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है
हाँ - यह स्थानीय अर्थव्यवस्था के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है

हाँ - अन्य: _____ ☐
नहीं - यह एक फर्क नहीं पड़ता ☐
दूसरा कोई नही: _____ ☐

14 आप 'विश्व विरासत' से क्या समझते हैं?

15 आप वर्तमान में दाखिले के स्तर से संतुष्ट हैं साइट के लिए कीमत?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

16 जो एजेंसी के लिए प्रवेश शुल्क का भुगतान किया जाता है?

17 आप भीमबेटका में किसी भी स्थानीय या आदिवासी गांवों के बारे में पता?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

18 आप और अधिक भुगतान करने के लिए अगर पैसे की ओर चला गया तैयार हो सकते हैं:

(एकाधिक जवाब)
शैल चित्रों के लिए अतिरिक्त संरक्षण के काम ☐
स्थानीय समुदाय ☐
बेहतर सुविधाएं (शौचालय, दुकानों) ☐
थानीय आदिवासी गांवों के लिए उपयोग / पर्यटन उपलब्ध कराना ☐
अधिक गाइड ☐
संग्रहालय ☐
साइट पर और अधिक शोध ☐
थानीय कला और शिल्प उपलब्ध कराना ☐

वन और प्राकृतिक वातावरण बनाए रखने के

19 आपको लगता है कि जनता के पैसे पर खर्च किया जाना चाहिए संरक्षण और विरासत के संरक्षण?

हाँ
नहीं

20 कैसे महत्वपूर्ण समझने के लिए निम्नलिखित बातें कर रहे हैं इस साइट?

रॉक कला

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| महत्वपूर्ण नहीं | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | बहोत महत्वपूर्ण |

प्राकृतिक पर्यावरण

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| महत्वपूर्ण नहीं | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | बहोत महत्वपूर्ण |

थानीय समुदायों

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| महत्वपूर्ण नहीं | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | बहोत महत्वपूर्ण |

पुरातत्व खुदाई

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| महत्वपूर्ण नहीं | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | बहोत महत्वपूर्ण |

21 क्या प्राथमिकता निम्नलिखित बातें इस साइट के लिए होना चाहिए?

थानीय सांस्कृतिक परंपरा का संरक्षण

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

शैल चित्रों का संरक्षण

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

राकृतिक पर्यावरण के संरक्षण

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

वैज्ञानिक अनुसंधान साइट बेहतर समझने के लिए

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

पर्यटन और आर्थिक विकास

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

22 किस हद तक आप के बारे में निम्नलिखित बयानों के साथ सहमत नहीं जो लोग शैल चित्रों बनाया है?

वे सभी भारतीयों के पूर्वज थे

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

वे आज जो लोग इस क्षेत्र में रहने के पूर्वज थे

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

वे अपने पूर्वजों थे

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

vवे सभी लोगों के पूर्वज थे

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

यह कहना है कि वे कौन थे मुश्किल है

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

23 आप भीमबेटका (अब या अतीत में) पर किसी भी पुरातात्विक खुदाई के बारे में पता?

हाँ ☐

नहीं ☐

24 कितनी देर पहले भीमबेटका में शैल चित्रों बनाया गया था?

25 आप आज भीमबेटका जाकर क्या सीखा है?

26 अपने आयु वर्ग क्या है?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | ☐ | 50-54 | ☐ |
| 20-24 | ☐ | 55-59 | ☐ |
| 25-29 | ☐ | 60-64 | ☐ |
| 30-34 | ☐ | 65-69 | ☐ |
| 35-39 | ☐ | 70-74 | ☐ |
| 40-44 | ☐ | 75-79 | ☐ |
| 45-49 | ☐ | 80+ | ☐ |

27 आप कहां के निवासी हैं?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| आंध्र प्रदेश | ☐ | 1 | नगालैंड | ☐ | 19 |
| अरुणाचल प्रदेश | ☐ | 2 | ओडिशा / उड़ीसा | ☐ | 20 |
| असम | ☐ | 3 | पंजाब | ☐ | 21 |
| बिहार | ☐ | 4 | राजस्थान | ☐ | 22 |
| छत्तीसगढ़ | ☐ | 5 | सिक्किम | ☐ | 23 |
| गोवा | ☐ | 6 | तमिलनाडु | ☐ | 24 |
| गुजरात | ☐ | 7 | रिपुरा | ☐ | 25 |
| हरयाणा | ☐ | 8 | उत्तर प्रदेश | ☐ | 26 |
| हिमाचल प्रदेश | ☐ | 9 | उत्तराखंड | ☐ | 27 |
| जम्मू और कश्मीर | ☐ | 10 | पश्चिम बंगाल | ☐ | 28 |
| झारखंड | ☐ | 11 | अंडमान एवं निकोबार | ☐ | 29 |
| कर्नाटक | ☐ | 12 | चंडीगढ़ | ☐ | 30 |
| केरल | ☐ | 13 | दादरा एवं नगर हवेली | ☐ | 31 |
| मध्य प्रदेश | ☐ | 14 | दमन और दीव | ☐ | 32 |
| महाराष्ट्र | ☐ | 15 | लक्षद्वीप | ☐ | 33 |
| मणिपुर | ☐ | 16 | राष्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र | ☐ | 34 |
| मेघालय | ☐ | 17 | पांडिचेरी | ☐ | 35 |
| मिजोरम | ☐ | 18 | | | |

अन्य: _____ ☐ 36

28 तुम्हारी मातृभाषा क्या है?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| बंगाली | ☐ | 1 | भीली | ☐ | 12 |
| गुजराती | ☐ | 2 | गोंडी | ☐ | 13 |
| हिंदी | ☐ | 3 | कोरकू | ☐ | 14 |
| कन्नड़ | ☐ | 4 | नाहाली | ☐ | 15 |
| मलयालम | ☐ | 5 | नीहाली | ☐ | 16 |
| मराठी | ☐ | 6 | सराइकी | ☐ | 17 |
| ओरिया | ☐ | 7 | पश्तो | ☐ | 18 |
| पंजाबी | ☐ | 8 | मालवी | ☐ | 19 |
| तामिल | ☐ | 9 | नीएमएडी | ☐ | 20 |
| तेलुगु | ☐ | 10 | बुंदेली | ☐ | 21 |
| उर् | ☐ | 11 | बघेली | ☐ | 22 |

अन्य: _____ ☐ 23

29 आपका धर्म क्या है?

हिंदू
मुसलमान
ईसाई
सिख
बौद्
जैन
अन्य: _____

30 आपका व्यवसाय क्या है?

कृषक
कृषि मजदूर
घरेलू उद्योग में कार्यकर्ता
छात्र
घर के कर्तव्यों
आश्रित
पेंशनभोगी
किराये पर देनेवाला
अन्य: _____

31 शिक्षा का स्तर क्या आप आए हैं?

मुख्य
माध्यमिक
उच्चतर
तकनीकी
अन्य: _____

32 आपका लिंग क्या है?

नर
महिला

### 7.1.3 Sanchi: English questionnaire form

1 Have you come to Sanchi:

- Specifically? ☐
- As part of a bigger tour? ☐
- Because it is close to another site that you are visiting? ☐

2 What is the purpose of your visit?

(Multiple answer)

- Leisure, recreation, holiday ☐
- Visiting friends and relatives ☐
- Business and professional ☐
- Religion / pilgrimage ☐
- Historical interest ☐
- Cultural heritage ☐
- The natural environment ☐
- Just a casual visit while passing through the area ☐
- Other: _____ ☐

3 How did you learn about the site before you came?

(Multiple answer)

- TV ☐
- MP Tourism website ☐
- Other website ☐
- Books ☐
- Referral by friends and relatives ☐
- Brochures/pamphlets ☐
- Personal referrals ☐
- Newspapers ☐
- Magazines ☐
- Tourism bureau ☐
- Radio ☐
- Random/impulse decision ☐
- Business colleagues ☐
- Obtained no information beforehand ☐
- Other: _____ ☐

4 How often do you visit heritage sites
(archaeology, museums, old temples etc.)?

Less than once a year ☐
About once a year ☐
2-3 times a year ☐
4-5 times a year ☐
More than 5 times a year ☐

5 Have you visited Sanchi before?

No ☐
Yes - once before ☐
Yes 2-3 times ☐
Yes more than 3 times ☐

6 Are you going to stay near Sanchi today?

Yes ☐
No ☐

7 How likely are you to come back to Sanchi in future?

Very likely ☐
Likely ☐
Unlikely ☐
Very unlikely ☐
Don't know ☐

8 Would you recommend visiting Sanchi to someone else?

Yes ☐
No ☐

9 Do you identify yourself with the people who lived here in the past?

(Multiple answer)
Yes - I live in this area ☐
Yes - This is common human heritage ☐
Yes - I find it interesting / I like it ☐
Yes - I have studied related things (archaeology, history) ☐

Yes - Other: _____ ☐
No - I am not interested ☐
No - I don't know enough about them ☐
No - I am not from this area ☐
No - I haven't studied related things ☐
No - Too distant past ☐
No - It has not been well enough promoted ☐
No - Other: _____ ☐

10 Do you think Sanchi is important for India's identity?

(Multiple answer)
Yes - This is our national heritage ☐
Yes - We should be proud of it ☐
Yes - This demonstrates the age of our culture ☐
Yes - Other: _____ ☐
No - Most people don't know about it ☐
No - This is not relevant to modern India ☐
No - It isn't that special ☐
No - Other: _____ ☐

11 Do you think Sanchi is important for the rest of the world?

(Multiple answer)
Yes - This is common human heritage ☐
Yes - Everyone should be interested in this ☐
Yes - Other: _____ ☐
No - There are other sites like this in other countries ☐
No - Other: _____ ☐

12 Did you know that Sanchi is a World Heritage Site?

Yes ☐
No ☐

13 Is it important that Sanchi is a World Heritage Site?

(Multiple answer)
Yes - This is important for India ☐
Yes - This is important for tourism ☐
Yes - This is important for the local economy ☐

Yes - Other: _____ ☐

No - It doesn't make a difference ☐

No - Other: _____ ☐

14 What do you understand by 'World Heritage'?

15 Are you satisfied with the level of the current admission price for the site?

Yes ☐

No ☐

16 To which agency is the admission fee paid?

17 Are you aware of any local or tribal villages at Sanchi?

Yes ☐

No ☐

18 Would you be willing to pay more if the money went towards:

(Multiple answer)

Additional preservation work for the monuments ☐

The local community ☐

Better facilities (toilets, shops) ☐

Providing access/tours to local tribal villages ☐

More guides ☐

The museum ☐

More research on the site ☐

Providing local arts and crafts ☐

Maintaining the forest and natural environment ☐

19 Do you think that public money should be spent on the protection and preservation of heritage?

Yes ☐
No ☐

20 How important are the following things for understanding this site?

The buildings and architecture

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Very important |

The natural environment

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Very important |

The local communities

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Very important |

Archaeological excavations

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Very important |

21 What priority should the following things have for this site?

Preservation of local cultural tradition

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

Preservation of the buildings and architecture

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

Preservation of the natural environment

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

Scientific research to understand the site better

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

Tourism and economic development

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

22 To what extent do you agree with the following statements about the people who built the monuments?

They were the ancestors of all Indians

| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

They were the ancestors of the people who live in this area today

| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

They were my ancestors

| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

They were the ancestors of all people, not only Indians

| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

It's difficult to say who they were

| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

23 Are you aware of any archaeological excavations at Sanchi (now or in the past)?

Yes ☐

No ☐

24 How long ago were the monuments at Sanchi created?

25 What have you learnt by visiting Sanchi today?

26 What is your age group?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | ☐ | 50-54 | ☐ |
| 20-24 | ☐ | 55-59 | ☐ |
| 25-29 | ☐ | 60-64 | ☐ |
| 30-34 | ☐ | 65-69 | ☐ |
| 35-39 | ☐ | 70-74 | ☐ |
| 40-44 | ☐ | 75-79 | ☐ |
| 45-49 | ☐ | 80+ | ☐ |

27 Where are you from?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andhra Pradesh | ☐ | 1 | Nagaland | ☐ | 19 |
| Arunachal Pradesh | ☐ | 2 | Odisha/Orissa | ☐ | 20 |
| Assam | ☐ | 3 | Punjab | ☐ | 21 |
| Bihar | ☐ | 4 | Rajasthan | ☐ | 22 |
| Chhattisgarh | ☐ | 5 | Sikkim | ☐ | 23 |
| Goa | ☐ | 6 | Tamil Nadu | ☐ | 24 |
| Gujarat | ☐ | 7 | Tripura | ☐ | 25 |
| Haryana | ☐ | 8 | Uttar Pradesh | ☐ | 26 |
| Himachal Pradesh | ☐ | 9 | Uttarakhand | ☐ | 27 |
| Jammu and Kashmir | ☐ | 10 | West Bengal | ☐ | 28 |
| Jharkhand | ☐ | 11 | Andaman & Nicobar I. | ☐ | 29 |
| Karnataka | ☐ | 12 | Chandigarh | ☐ | 30 |
| Kerala | ☐ | 13 | Dadra & Nagar Haveli | ☐ | 31 |
| Madhya Pradesh | ☐ | 14 | Daman and Diu | ☐ | 32 |
| Maharashtra | ☐ | 15 | Lakshadweep | ☐ | 33 |
| Manipur | ☐ | 16 | NCT | ☐ | 34 |
| Meghalaya | ☐ | 17 | Pondicherry | ☐ | 35 |
| Mizoram | ☐ | 18 | | | |

Other: _____ ☐ 36

28 What is your mother tongue?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bengali | ☐ | 1 | Bhili | ☐ | 12 |
| Gujarati | ☐ | 2 | Gondi | ☐ | 13 |
| Hindi | ☐ | 3 | Korku | ☐ | 14 |
| Kannada | ☐ | 4 | Kalto | ☐ | 15 |
| Malayalam | ☐ | 5 | Nihali | ☐ | 16 |
| Marathi | ☐ | 6 | Saraiki | ☐ | 17 |
| Oriya | ☐ | 7 | Pashto | ☐ | 18 |
| Punjabi | ☐ | 8 | Malvi | ☐ | 19 |
| Tamil | ☐ | 9 | Nimadi | ☐ | 20 |
| Telugu | ☐ | 10 | Bundeli | ☐ | 21 |
| Urdu | ☐ | 11 | Bagheli | ☐ | 22 |

Other: _____ ☐ 23

29 What is your religion?

Hindu ☐
Muslim ☐
Christian ☐
Sikh ☐
Buddhist ☐
Jain ☐
Other: _____ ☐

30 What is your occupation?

Cultivator ☐
Agricultural labourer ☐
Worker in Household Industry ☐
Student ☐
Household duties ☐
Dependent ☐
Pensioner ☐
Rentier ☐
Other: _____ ☐

31 What level of education have you reached?

Primary ☐
Secondary ☐
Higher ☐
Technical ☐
Other: _____ ☐

32 What is your sex?

Male ☐
Female ☐

### 7.1.4 Sanchi: Hindi questionnaire form

1 आप सांची करने के लिए आए हैं:

विशेष रूप से? ☐
एक बड़ा दौरे के हिस्से के रूप में? ☐
क्योंकि यह एक और साइट है कि आप देख रहे हैं के करीब है? ☐

2 आपकी यात्रा का उद्देश्य क्या है?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
अवकाश, मनोरंजन, अवकाश ☐
मित्रों और रिश्तेदारों का दौरा ☐
व्यवसाय और पेशेवर ☐
धर्म / तीर्थयात्रा ☐
ऐतिहासिक ब्याज ☐
सांस्कृतिक विरासत ☐
प्राकृतिक पर्यावरण ☐
सिर्फ एक आकस्मिक यात्रा क्षेत्र के माध्यम से गुजर रहा है, जबकि ☐
अन्य: _____ ☐

3 तुम्हारे आने से पहले कैसे आप साइट के बारे में सीखा?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
टीवी ☐
सांसद पर्यटन वेबसाइट ☐
अन्य वेबसाइट ☐
पुस्तकें ☐
दोतों और रिश्तेदारों द्वारा रेफरल ☐
रोशर / पर्चे ☐
व्यक्तिगत रेफरल ☐
समाचार पत्र ☐
पत्रिका ☐
पर्यटन ब्यूरो ☐
रेडियो ☐
रैंडम / आवेग निर्णय ☐
यापार सहयोगियों ☐
कोई जानकारी पहले से प्राप्त की ☐
अन्य: _____ ☐

4 कितनी बार आप विरासत स्थलों की यात्रा करते हैं (पुरातत्व, संग्रहालयों, पुराने मंदिरों आदि)?

साल में एक बार कम से कम ☐
के बारे में साल में एक बार ☐
2-3 बार एक साल ☐
4-5 बार एक साल ☐
अधिक से अधिक 5 बार एक साल ☐

5 आप सांची करने के लिए आए हैं:

नहीं ☐
हाँ - एक बार पहले ☐
हाँ 2-3 बार ☐
हाँ अधिक से अधिक 3 बार ☐

6 आप आज सांची के पास रहने के लिए जा रहे हैं?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

7 कैसे संभावना है कि आप भविष्य में सांची के लिए वापस आने के लिए कर रहे हैं?

बहुत संभावना है ☐
उपयुक् ☐
संभावना नहीं ☐
अति असंभाव ☐
पता नहीं। ☐

8 तुम किसी और को सांची का दौरा सिफारिश करेंगे?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

9 आप लोगों को जो यहाँ रहते थे साथ अपने आप को पहचान करते हैं भूतकाल में?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
हाँ - मैं इस क्षेत्र में रहते हैं ☐
हाँ - यह आम इंसान की विरासत है ☐
हाँ - मैं यह दिलचस्प लगता है / मुझे यह पसंद है ☐
हाँ - मैं संबंधित चीजों का अध्ययन किया है (पुरातत्व, इतिहास) ☐

हाँ - अन्य: _____
नहीं - मुझे कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं हूँ
नहीं - मैं उनके बारे में पर्याप्त नहीं पता
नहीं - मैं इस क्षेत्र से नहीं हूं
नहीं - मैं संबंधित चीजों का अध्ययन नहीं किया है
नहीं - बहुत सुदूर अतीत
नहीं - यह काफी अच्छी तरह से नहीं किया गया है पदोन्नत
दूसरा कोई नही: _____

10 क्या आपको लगता है सांची भारत की पहचान के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
हाँ - यह हमारी राष्ट्रीय विरासत है
हाँ - हम इस पर गर्व होना चाहिए
हाँ - यह हमारी संस्कृति की उम्र दर्शाता है
हाँ - अन्य: _____
नहीं - अधिकांश लोगों को इसके बारे में पता नहीं है
नहीं - यह आधुनिक भारत के लिए प्रासंगिक नहीं है
नहीं - यह है कि विशेष नहीं है
दूसरा कोई नही: _____

11 क्या आपको लगता है सांची बाकी दुनिया के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
हाँ - यह आम इंसान की विरासत है
हाँ - हर कोई इस में रुचि होनी चाहिए
हाँ - अन्य: _____
नहीं - अन्य देशों में इस तरह अन्य साइटों रहे हैं
दूसरा कोई नही: _____

12 आप जानते हैं कि सांची एक विश्व धरोहर स्थल है?

हाँ
नहीं

13 यह महत्वपूर्ण है कि सांची एक विश्व धरोहर स्थल है?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
हाँ - यह भारत के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है
हाँ - यह पर्यटन के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है
हाँ - यह स्थानीय अर्थव्यवस्था के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है

हाँ - अन्य: _____ ☐
नहीं - यह एक फर्क नहीं पड़ता ☐
दूसरा कोई नही: _____ ☐

14 आप 'विश्व विरासत' से क्या समझते हैं?

15 आप वर्तमान में दाखिले के स्तर से संतुष्ट हैं साइट के लिए कीमत?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

16 जो एजेंसी के लिए प्रवेश शुल्क का भुगतान किया जाता है?

17 आप सांची में किसी भी स्थानीय या आदिवासी गांवों के बारे में पता?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

18 आप और अधिक भुगतान करने के लिए अगर पैसे की ओर चला गया तैयार हो सकते हैं:

(एकाधिक जवाब)
मारकों के लिए अतिरिक्त संरक्षण के काम ☐
स्थानीय समुदाय ☐
बेहतर सुविधाएं (शौचालय, दुकानों) ☐
थानीय आदिवासी गांवों के लिए उपयोग / पर्यटन उपलब्ध कराना ☐
अधिक गाइड ☐
संग्रहालय ☐
साइट पर और अधिक शोध ☐
थानीय कला और शिल्प उपलब्ध कराना ☐

वन और प्राकृतिक वातावरण बनाए रखने के

19 आपको लगता है कि जनता के पैसे पर खर्च किया जाना चाहिए संरक्षण और विरासत के संरक्षण?

हाँ
नहीं

20 कैसे महत्वपूर्ण समझने के लिए निम्नलिखित बातें कर रहे हैं इस साइट?

इमारतों और वास्तुकला

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| महत्वपूर्ण नहीं | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | बहोत महत्वपूर्ण |

प्राकृतिक पर्यावरण

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| महत्वपूर्ण नहीं | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | बहोत महत्वपूर्ण |

थानीय समुदायों

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| महत्वपूर्ण नहीं | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | बहोत महत्वपूर्ण |

पुरातत्व खुदाई

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| महत्वपूर्ण नहीं | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | बहोत महत्वपूर्ण |

21 क्या प्राथमिकता निम्नलिखित बातें इस साइट के लिए होना चाहिए?

थानीय सांस्कृतिक परंपरा का संरक्षण

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

शैल चित्रों का संरक्षण

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

राकृतिक पर्यावरण के संरक्षण

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

वैज्ञानिक अनुसंधान साइट बेहतर समझने के लिए

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

पर्यटन और आर्थिक विकास

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

22 किस हद तक आप लोगों को जो स्मारकों का निर्माण के बारे में निम्नलिखित बयान के साथ सहमत हैं?

वे सभी भारतीयों के पूर्वज थे

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

वे आज जो लोग इस क्षेत्र में रहने के पूर्वज थे

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

वे अपने पूर्वजों थे

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

vवे सभी लोगों के पूर्वज थे

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

यह कहना है कि वे कौन थे मुश्किल है

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

23 आप सांची (अब या अतीत में) पर किसी भी पुरातात्विक खुदाई के बारे में पता?

हाँ ☐

नहीं ☐

24 कितनी देर पहले सांची में स्मारकों बनाया गया था?

25 आप आज सांची जाकर क्या सीखा है?

26 अपने आयु वर्ग क्या है?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | ☐ | 50-54 | ☐ |
| 20-24 | ☐ | 55-59 | ☐ |
| 25-29 | ☐ | 60-64 | ☐ |
| 30-34 | ☐ | 65-69 | ☐ |
| 35-39 | ☐ | 70-74 | ☐ |
| 40-44 | ☐ | 75-79 | ☐ |
| 45-49 | ☐ | 80+ | ☐ |

27 आप कहां के निवासी हैं?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| आंध्र प्रदेश | ☐ | 1 | नगालैंड | ☐ | 19 |
| अरुणाचल प्रदेश | ☐ | 2 | ओडिशा / उड़ीसा | ☐ | 20 |
| असम | ☐ | 3 | पंजाब | ☐ | 21 |
| बिहार | ☐ | 4 | राजस्थान | ☐ | 22 |
| छत्तीसगढ़ | ☐ | 5 | सिक्किम | ☐ | 23 |
| गोवा | ☐ | 6 | तमिलनाडु | ☐ | 24 |
| गुजरात | ☐ | 7 | रिपुरा | ☐ | 25 |
| हरयाणा | ☐ | 8 | उत्तर प्रदेश | ☐ | 26 |
| हिमाचल प्रदेश | ☐ | 9 | उत्तराखंड | ☐ | 27 |
| जम्मू और कश्मीर | ☐ | 10 | पश्चिम बंगाल | ☐ | 28 |
| झारखंड | ☐ | 11 | अंडमान एवं निकोबार | ☐ | 29 |
| कर्नाटक | ☐ | 12 | चंडीगढ़ | ☐ | 30 |
| केरल | ☐ | 13 | दादरा एवं नगर हवेली | ☐ | 31 |
| मध्य प्रदेश | ☐ | 14 | दमन और दीव | ☐ | 32 |
| महाराष्ट्र | ☐ | 15 | लक्षद्वीप | ☐ | 33 |
| मणिपुर | ☐ | 16 | राष्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र | ☐ | 34 |
| मेघालय | ☐ | 17 | पांडिचेरी | ☐ | 35 |
| मिजोरम | ☐ | 18 | | | |

अन्य: _____ ☐ 36

28 तुम्हारी मातृभाषा क्या है?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| बंगाली | ☐ | 1 | भीली | ☐ | 12 |
| गुजराती | ☐ | 2 | गोंडी | ☐ | 13 |
| हिंदी | ☐ | 3 | कोरकू | ☐ | 14 |
| कन्नड़ | ☐ | 4 | नाहाली | ☐ | 15 |
| मलयालम | ☐ | 5 | नीहाली | ☐ | 16 |
| मराठी | ☐ | 6 | सराइकी | ☐ | 17 |
| ओरिया | ☐ | 7 | पश्तो | ☐ | 18 |
| पंजाबी | ☐ | 8 | मालवी | ☐ | 19 |
| तामिल | ☐ | 9 | नीएमएडी | ☐ | 20 |
| तेलुगु | ☐ | 10 | बुंदेली | ☐ | 21 |
| उर् | ☐ | 11 | बघेली | ☐ | 22 |

अन्य: _____ ☐ 23

29 आपका धर्म क्या है?

हिंदू ☐
मुसलमान ☐
ईसाई ☐
सिख ☐
बौद् ☐
जैन ☐
अन्य: _____ ☐

30 आपका व्यवसाय क्या है?

कृषक ☐
कृषि मजदूर ☐
घरेलू उद्योग में कार्यकर्ता ☐
छात्र ☐
घर के कर्तव्यों ☐
आश्रित ☐
पेंशनभोगी ☐
किराये पर देनेवाला ☐
अन्य: _____ ☐

31 शिक्षा का स्तर क्या आप आए हैं?

मुख्य ☐
माध्यमिक ☐
उच्चतर ☐
तकनीकी ☐
अन्य: _____ ☐

32 आपका लिंग क्या है?

नर ☐
महिला ☐

### 7.1.5 Champaner-Pavagadh: English questionnaire form

1 Have you come to Champaner-Pavagadh:

- Specifically? ☐
- As part of a bigger tour? ☐
- Because it is close to another site that you are visiting? ☐

2 What is the purpose of your visit?

(Multiple answer)

- Leisure, recreation, holiday ☐
- Visiting friends and relatives ☐
- Business and professional ☐
- Religion / pilgrimage ☐
- Historical interest ☐
- Cultural heritage ☐
- The natural environment ☐
- Just a casual visit while passing through the area ☐
- Other: _____ ☐

3 How did you learn about the site before you came?

(Multiple answer)

- TV ☐
- Gujarat Tourism website ☐
- Other website ☐
- Books ☐
- Referral by friends and relatives ☐
- Brochures/pamphlets ☐
- Personal referrals ☐
- Newspapers ☐
- Magazines ☐
- Tourism bureau ☐
- Radio ☐
- Random/impulse decision ☐
- Business colleagues ☐
- Obtained no information beforehand ☐
- Other: _____ ☐

4 How often do you visit heritage sites
(archaeology, museums, old temples etc.)?

Less than once a year ☐
About once a year ☐
2-3 times a year ☐
4-5 times a year ☐
More than 5 times a year ☐

5 Have you visited Champaner-Pavagadh before?

No ☐
Yes - once before ☐
Yes 2-3 times ☐
Yes more than 3 times ☐

6 Are you going to stay near Champaner-Pavagadh today?

Yes ☐
No ☐

7 How likely are you to come back to Champaner-Pavagadh in future?

Very likely ☐
Likely ☐
Unlikely ☐
Very unlikely ☐
Don't know ☐

8 Would you recommend visiting Champaner-Pavagadh to someone else?

Yes ☐
No ☐

9 Do you identify yourself with the people who lived here in the past?

(Multiple answer)
Yes - I live in this area ☐
Yes - This is common human heritage ☐
Yes - I find it interesting / I like it ☐
Yes - I have studied related things (archaeology, history) ☐

Yes - Other: _____ ☐
No - I am not interested ☐
No - I don't know enough about them ☐
No - I am not from this area ☐
No - I haven't studied related things ☐
No - Too distant past ☐
No - It has not been well enough promoted ☐
No - Other: _____ ☐

10 Do you think Champaner-Pavagadh is important for India's identity?

(Multiple answer)
Yes - This is our national heritage ☐
Yes - We should be proud of it ☐
Yes - This demonstrates the age of our culture ☐
Yes - Other: _____ ☐
No - Most people don't know about it ☐
No - This is not relevant to modern India ☐
No - It isn't that special ☐
No - Other: _____ ☐

11 Do you think Champaner-Pavagadh is important for the rest of the world?

(Multiple answer)
Yes - This is common human heritage ☐
Yes - Everyone should be interested in this ☐
Yes - Other: _____ ☐
No - There are other sites like this in other countries ☐
No - Other: _____ ☐

12 Did you know that Champaner-Pavagadh is a World Heritage Site?

Yes ☐
No ☐

13 Is it important that Champaner-Pavagadh is a World Heritage Site?

(Multiple answer)
Yes - This is important for India ☐
Yes - This is important for tourism ☐
Yes - This is important for the local economy ☐

Yes - Other: _____ ☐

No - It doesn't make a difference ☐

No - Other: _____ ☐

14 What do you understand by 'World Heritage'?

15 Are you satisfied with the level of the current admission price for the site?

Yes ☐

No ☐

16 To which agency is the admission fee paid?

17 Are you aware of any local or tribal villages at Champaner-Pavagadh?

Yes ☐

No ☐

18 Would you be willing to pay more if the money went towards:

(Multiple answer)

Additional preservation work for the monuments ☐

The local community ☐

Better facilities (toilets, shops) ☐

Providing access/tours to local tribal villages ☐

More guides ☐

The museum ☐

More research on the site ☐

Providing local arts and crafts ☐

Maintaining the forest and natural environment ☐

19 Do you think that public money should be spent on the protection and preservation of heritage?

Yes ☐
No ☐

20 How important are the following things for understanding this site?

The buildings and architecture

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Very important |

The natural environment

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Very important |

The local communities

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Very important |

Archaeological excavations

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Not important | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Very important |

21 What priority should the following things have for this site?

Preservation of local cultural tradition

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

Preservation of the buildings and architecture

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

Preservation of the natural environment

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

Scientific research to understand the site better

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

Tourism and economic development

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Low priority | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | High priority |

22 To what extent do you agree with the following statements about the people who built the monuments?

They were the ancestors of all Indians

| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

They were the ancestors of the people who live in this area today

| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

They were my ancestors

| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

They were the ancestors of all people, not only Indians

| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

It's difficult to say who they were

| Str. disagree | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Strongly agree |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|

23 Are you aware of any archaeological excavations at Champaner-Pavagadh (now or in the past)?

Yes ☐

No ☐

24 How long ago were the monuments at Champaner-Pavagadh created?

25 What have you learnt by visiting Champaner-Pavagadh today?

26 What is your age group?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | ☐ | 50-54 | ☐ |
| 20-24 | ☐ | 55-59 | ☐ |
| 25-29 | ☐ | 60-64 | ☐ |
| 30-34 | ☐ | 65-69 | ☐ |
| 35-39 | ☐ | 70-74 | ☐ |
| 40-44 | ☐ | 75-79 | ☐ |
| 45-49 | ☐ | 80+ | ☐ |

27 Where are you from?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Andhra Pradesh | ☐ | 1 | Nagaland | ☐ | 19 |
| Arunachal Pradesh | ☐ | 2 | Odisha/Orissa | ☐ | 20 |
| Assam | ☐ | 3 | Punjab | ☐ | 21 |
| Bihar | ☐ | 4 | Rajasthan | ☐ | 22 |
| Chhattisgarh | ☐ | 5 | Sikkim | ☐ | 23 |
| Goa | ☐ | 6 | Tamil Nadu | ☐ | 24 |
| Gujarat | ☐ | 7 | Tripura | ☐ | 25 |
| Haryana | ☐ | 8 | Uttar Pradesh | ☐ | 26 |
| Himachal Pradesh | ☐ | 9 | Uttarakhand | ☐ | 27 |
| Jammu and Kashmir | ☐ | 10 | West Bengal | ☐ | 28 |
| Jharkhand | ☐ | 11 | Andaman & Nicobar I. | ☐ | 29 |
| Karnataka | ☐ | 12 | Chandigarh | ☐ | 30 |
| Kerala | ☐ | 13 | Dadra & Nagar Haveli | ☐ | 31 |
| Madhya Pradesh | ☐ | 14 | Daman and Diu | ☐ | 32 |
| Maharashtra | ☐ | 15 | Lakshadweep | ☐ | 33 |
| Manipur | ☐ | 16 | NCT | ☐ | 34 |
| Meghalaya | ☐ | 17 | Pondicherry | ☐ | 35 |
| Mizoram | ☐ | 18 | | | |

Other: _____ ☐ 36

28 What is your mother tongue?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bengali | ☐ | 1 | Bhili | ☐ | 12 |
| Gujarati | ☐ | 2 | Gondi | ☐ | 13 |
| Hindi | ☐ | 3 | Korku | ☐ | 14 |
| Kannada | ☐ | 4 | Kalto | ☐ | 15 |
| Malayalam | ☐ | 5 | Nihali | ☐ | 16 |
| Marathi | ☐ | 6 | Saraiki | ☐ | 17 |
| Oriya | ☐ | 7 | Pashto | ☐ | 18 |
| Punjabi | ☐ | 8 | Malvi | ☐ | 19 |
| Tamil | ☐ | 9 | Nimadi | ☐ | 20 |
| Telugu | ☐ | 10 | Bundeli | ☐ | 21 |
| Urdu | ☐ | 11 | Bagheli | ☐ | 22 |

Other: _____ ☐ 23

29 What is your religion?

Hindu ☐
Muslim ☐
Christian ☐
Sikh ☐
Buddhist ☐
Jain ☐
Other: _____ ☐

30 What is your occupation?

Cultivator ☐
Agricultural labourer ☐
Worker in Household Industry ☐
Student ☐
Household duties ☐
Dependent ☐
Pensioner ☐
Rentier ☐
Other: _____ ☐

31 What level of education have you reached?

Primary ☐
Secondary ☐
Higher ☐
Technical ☐
Other: _____ ☐

32 What is your sex?

Male ☐
Female ☐

### 7.1.6 Champaner-Pavagadh: Hindi questionnaire form

1 आप चंपानेर पावागढ़ करने के लिए आए हैं:

- विशेष रूप से? ☐
- एक बड़ा दौरे के हिस्से के रूप में? ☐
- क्योंकि यह एक और साइट है कि आप देख रहे हैं के करीब है? ☐

2 आपकी यात्रा का उद्देश्य क्या है?

(एकाधिक जवाब)

- अवकाश, मनोरंजन, अवकाश ☐
- मित्रों और रिश्तेदारों का दौरा ☐
- व्यवसाय और पेशेवर ☐
- धर्म / तीर्थयात्रा ☐
- ऐतिहासिक ब्याज ☐
- सांस्कृतिक विरासत ☐
- प्राकृतिक पर्यावरण ☐
- सिर्फ एक आकस्मिक यात्रा क्षेत्र के माध्यम से गुजर रहा है, जबकि ☐
- अन्य: _____ ☐

3 तुम्हारे आने से पहले कैसे आप साइट के बारे में सीखा?

(एकाधिक जवाब)

- टीवी ☐
- गुजरात पर्यटन वेबसाइट ☐
- अन्य वेबसाइट ☐
- पुस्तकें ☐
- दोतों और रिश्तेदारों द्वारा रेफरल ☐
- रोशर / पर्चे ☐
- व्यक्तिगत रेफरल ☐
- समाचार पत्र ☐
- पत्रिका ☐
- पर्यटन ब्यूरो ☐
- रेडियो ☐
- रैंडम / आवेग निर्णय ☐
- यापार सहयोगियों ☐
- कोई जानकारी पहले से प्राप्त की ☐
- अन्य: _____ ☐

4 कितनी बार आप विरासत स्थलों की यात्रा करते हैं (पुरातत्व, संग्रहालयों, पुराने मंदिरों आदि)?

साल में एक बार कम से कम ☐
के बारे में साल में एक बार ☐
2-3 बार एक साल ☐
4-5 बार एक साल ☐
अधिक से अधिक 5 बार एक साल ☐

5 आप पहले चंपानेर पावागढ़ दौरा किया है?

नहीं ☐
हाँ - एक बार पहले ☐
हाँ 2-3 बार ☐
हाँ अधिक से अधिक 3 बार ☐

6 आप आज चंपानेर पावागढ़ के पास रहने के लिए जा रहे हैं?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

7 कैसे संभावना है कि आप भविष्य में वापस चंपानेर पावागढ़ में आने के लिए कर रहे हैं?

बहुत संभावना है ☐
उपयुक्
संभावना नहीं ☐
अति असंभाव ☐
पता नहीं। ☐

8 तुम किसी और को चंपानेर पावागढ़ जाकर सिफारिश करेंगे?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

9 आप लोगों को जो यहाँ रहते थे साथ अपने आप को पहचान करते हैं भूतकाल में?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
हाँ - मैं इस क्षेत्र में रहते हैं ☐
हाँ - यह आम इंसान की विरासत है ☐
हाँ - मैं यह दिलचस्प लगता है / मुझे यह पसंद है ☐
हाँ - मैं संबंधित चीजों का अध्ययन किया है (पुरातत्व, इतिहास) ☐

हाँ - अन्य: _____
नहीं - मुझे कोई दिलचस्पी नहीं हूँ
नहीं - मैं उनके बारे में पर्याप्त नहीं पता
नहीं - मैं इस क्षेत्र से नहीं हूं
नहीं - मैं संबंधित चीजों का अध्ययन नहीं किया है
नहीं - बहुत सुदूर अतीत
नहीं - यह काफी अच्छी तरह से नहीं किया गया है पदोन्नत
दूसरा कोई नही: _____

10 क्या आपको लगता है चंपानेर पावागढ़ भारत की पहचान के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
हाँ - यह हमारी राष्ट्रीय विरासत है
हाँ - हम इस पर गर्व होना चाहिए
हाँ - यह हमारी संस्कृति की उम्र दर्शाता है
हाँ - अन्य: _____
नहीं - अधिकांश लोगों को इसके बारे में पता नहीं है
नहीं - यह आधुनिक भारत के लिए प्रासंगिक नहीं है
नहीं - यह है कि विशेष नहीं है
दूसरा कोई नही: _____

11 क्या आपको लगता है चंपानेर पावागढ़ बाकी दुनिया के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
हाँ - यह आम इंसान की विरासत है
हाँ - हर कोई इस में रुचि होनी चाहिए
हाँ - अन्य: _____
नहीं - अन्य देशों में इस तरह अन्य साइटों रहे हैं
दूसरा कोई नही: _____

12 आप जानते हैं कि चंपानेर पावागढ़ एक विश्व धरोहर स्थल है?

हाँ
नहीं

13 यह महत्वपूर्ण है कि चंपानेर पावागढ़ एक विश्व धरोहर स्थल है?

(एकाधिक जवाब)
हाँ - यह भारत के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है
हाँ - यह पर्यटन के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है
हाँ - यह स्थानीय अर्थव्यवस्था के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है

हाँ - अन्य: _____ ☐
नहीं - यह एक फर्क नहीं पड़ता ☐
दूसरा कोई नही: _____ ☐

14 आप 'विश्व विरासत' से क्या समझते हैं?

15 आप वर्तमान में दाखिले के स्तर से संतुष्ट हैं साइट के लिए कीमत?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

16 जो एजेंसी के लिए प्रवेश शुल्क का भुगतान किया जाता है?

17 आप चंपानेर पावागढ़ में किसी भी स्थानीय या आदिवासी गांवों के बारे में पता?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

18 आप और अधिक भुगतान करने के लिए अगर पैसे की ओर चला गया तैयार हो सकते हैं:

(एकाधिक जवाब)
मारकों के लिए अतिरिक्त संरक्षण के काम ☐
स्थानीय समुदाय ☐
बेहतर सुविधाएं (शौचालय, दुकानों) ☐
थानीय आदिवासी गांवों के लिए उपयोग / पर्यटन उपलब्ध कराना ☐
अधिक गाइड ☐
संग्रहालय ☐
साइट पर और अधिक शोध ☐
थानीय कला और शिल्प उपलब्ध कराना ☐

वन और प्राकृतिक वातावरण बनाए रखने के ☐

19 आपको लगता है कि जनता के पैसे पर खर्च किया जाना चाहिए संरक्षण और विरासत के संरक्षण?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

20 कैसे महत्वपूर्ण समझने के लिए निम्नलिखित बातें कर रहे हैं इस साइट?

इमारतों और वास्तुकला

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| महत्वपूर्ण नहीं | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | बहोत महत्वपूर्ण |

प्राकृतिक पर्यावरण

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| महत्वपूर्ण नहीं | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | बहोत महत्वपूर्ण |

थानीय समुदायों

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| महत्वपूर्ण नहीं | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | बहोत महत्वपूर्ण |

पुरातत्व खुदाई

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| महत्वपूर्ण नहीं | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | बहोत महत्वपूर्ण |

21 क्या प्राथमिकता निम्नलिखित बातें इस साइट के लिए होना चाहिए?

थानीय सांस्कृतिक परंपरा का संरक्षण

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

शैल चित्रों का संरक्षण

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

राकृतिक पर्यावरण के संरक्षण

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

वैज्ञानिक अनुसंधान साइट बेहतर समझने के लिए

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

पर्यटन और आर्थिक विकास

| | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| कम प्राथमिकता | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | उच्च प्राथमिकता |

22 किस हद तक आप लोगों को जो स्मारकों का निर्माण के बारे में निम्नलिखित बयान के साथ सहमत हैं?

वे सभी भारतीयों के पूर्वज थे

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

वे आज जो लोग इस क्षेत्र में रहने के पूर्वज थे

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

वे अपने पूर्वजों थे

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

vवे सभी लोगों के पूर्वज थे

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

यह कहना है कि वे कौन थे मुश्किल है

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| दृढ़तापूर्वक असहमत | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | दृढ़तापूर्वक सहमत |

23 आप चंपानेर पावागढ़ (अब या अतीत में) पर किसी भी पुरातात्विक खुदाई के बारे में पता?

हाँ ☐

नहीं ☐

24 कितनी देर पहले चंपानेर पावागढ़ में स्मारकों बनाया गया था?

25 आप आज चंपानेर पावागढ़ जाकर क्या सीखा है?

26 अपने आयु वर्ग क्या है?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | ☐ | 50-54 | ☐ |
| 20-24 | ☐ | 55-59 | ☐ |
| 25-29 | ☐ | 60-64 | ☐ |
| 30-34 | ☐ | 65-69 | ☐ |
| 35-39 | ☐ | 70-74 | ☐ |
| 40-44 | ☐ | 75-79 | ☐ |
| 45-49 | ☐ | 80+ | ☐ |

27 आप कहां के निवासी हैं?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| आंध्र प्रदेश | ☐ | 1 | नगालैंड | ☐ | 19 |
| अरुणाचल प्रदेश | ☐ | 2 | ओडिशा / उड़ीसा | ☐ | 20 |
| असम | ☐ | 3 | पंजाब | ☐ | 21 |
| बिहार | ☐ | 4 | राजस्थान | ☐ | 22 |
| छत्तीसगढ़ | ☐ | 5 | सिक्किम | ☐ | 23 |
| गोवा | ☐ | 6 | तमिलनाडु | ☐ | 24 |
| गुजरात | ☐ | 7 | रिपुरा | ☐ | 25 |
| हरयाणा | ☐ | 8 | उत्तर प्रदेश | ☐ | 26 |
| हिमाचल प्रदेश | ☐ | 9 | उत्तराखंड | ☐ | 27 |
| जम्मू और कश्मीर | ☐ | 10 | पश्चिम बंगाल | ☐ | 28 |
| झारखंड | ☐ | 11 | अंडमान एवं निकोबार | ☐ | 29 |
| कर्नाटक | ☐ | 12 | चंडीगढ़ | ☐ | 30 |
| केरल | ☐ | 13 | दादरा एवं नगर हवेली | ☐ | 31 |
| मध्य प्रदेश | ☐ | 14 | दमन और दीव | ☐ | 32 |
| महाराष्ट्र | ☐ | 15 | लक्षद्वीप | ☐ | 33 |
| मणिपुर | ☐ | 16 | राष्ट्रीय राजधानी क्षेत्र | ☐ | 34 |
| मेघालय | ☐ | 17 | पांडिचेरी | ☐ | 35 |
| मिजोरम | ☐ | 18 | | | |

अन्य: _____ ☐ 36

28 तुम्हारी मातृभाषा क्या है?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| बंगाली | ☐ | 1 | भीली | ☐ | 12 |
| गुजराती | ☐ | 2 | गोंडी | ☐ | 13 |
| हिंदी | ☐ | 3 | कोरकू | ☐ | 14 |
| कन्नड़ | ☐ | 4 | नाहाली | ☐ | 15 |
| मलयालम | ☐ | 5 | नीहाली | ☐ | 16 |
| मराठी | ☐ | 6 | सराइकी | ☐ | 17 |
| ओरिया | ☐ | 7 | पश्तो | ☐ | 18 |
| पंजाबी | ☐ | 8 | मालवी | ☐ | 19 |
| तामिल | ☐ | 9 | नीएमएडी | ☐ | 20 |
| तेलुगु | ☐ | 10 | बुंदेली | ☐ | 21 |
| उर् | ☐ | 11 | बघेली | ☐ | 22 |

अन्य: _____ ☐ 23

29 आपका धर्म क्या है?

हिंदू ☐
मुसलमान ☐
ईसाई ☐
सिख ☐
बौद् ☐
जैन ☐
अन्य: _____ ☐

30 आपका व्यवसाय क्या है?

कृषक ☐
कृषि मजदूर ☐
घरेलू उद्योग में कार्यकर्ता ☐
छात्र ☐
घर के कर्तव्यों ☐
आश्रित ☐
पेंशनभोगी ☐
किराये पर देनेवाला ☐
अन्य: _____ ☐

31 शिक्षा का स्तर क्या आप आए हैं?

मुख्य ☐
माध्यमिक ☐
उच्चतर ☐
तकनीकी ☐
अन्य: _____ ☐

32 आपका लिंग क्या है?

नर ☐
महिला ☐

### 7.1.7 Champaner-Pavagadh: Gujarati questionnaire form

1 તમે ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ આવ્યા છેઃ

ખાસ કરીને?
એક મોટી પ્રવાસ ભાગ તરીકે?
કારણ કે તે બીજા સાઇટ કે તમે મુલાકાત લઇ રહ્યા નજીક છે?

2 તમારી મુલાકાત હેતુ શું છે?

(મલ્ટીપલ જવાબ)
નવરાશ, મનોરંજન, રજા
મિત્રો અને સંબંધીઓ મુલાકાત
વ્યાપાર અને વ્યવસાયિક
ધર્મ / યાત્રાધામ
ઐતિહાસિક રસ
સાંસ્કૃતિક વારસો
કુદરતી પર્યાવરણ
માત્ર એક કેઝ્યુઅલ મુલાકાત વિસ્તાર પસાર જ્યારે
અન્યઃ _____

3 તમે કેવી રીતે તે પહેલાં તમે આવ્યા સાઇટ વિશે શીખ્યા?

(મલ્ટીપલ જવાબ)
ટીવી
ગુજરાત પ્રવાસન વેબસાઇટ
અન્ય વેબસાઇટ
પુસ્તકો
મિત્રો અને સંબંધીઓ દ્વારા રેફરલ
બ્રોશરો / પત્રિકાઓ
વ્યક્તિગત રેફરલ્સ
અખબારો
મેગેઝીન
પ્રવાસન બ્યુરો
રેડિયો
રેન્ડમ / આવેગ નિર્ણય
બિઝનેસ સાથીદારો
કોઇ જાણકારી અગાઉથી મેળવી
અન્યઃ _____

4 તમે કેટલી વાર હેરિટેજ સાઇટ્સ મુલાકાત નથી
(પુરાતત્વ, સંગ્રહાલયો, જૂના મંદિરો વગેરે)?

- વર્ષમાં એક વાર કરતાં ઓછી ☐
- વિશે એક વર્ષમાં એક વાર ☐
- 2-3 વખત એક વર્ષ ☐
- 4-5 વખત એક વર્ષ ☐
- કરતાં વધુ 5 વખત એક વર્ષ ☐

5 તમે પહેલાં ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ મુલાકાત લીધી?

- કોઇ ☐
- હા - એક વખત પહેલાં ☐
- હા 2-3 વખત ☐
- હા કરતાં વધુ 3 વખત ☐

6 તમે આજે ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ નજીક રહેવા જવાનું?

- હા ☐
- કોઇ ☐

7 ક્યતા કેવી રીતે તમે તેને ભવિષ્યમાં ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ પાછા આવો છે?

- ખૂબ જ સંભવ ☐
- શક્યતા ☐
- અનલાઇકલી ☐
- ખૂબ જ અશક્ય ☐
- ખબર નથી ☐

8 તમે બીજા કોઇને માટે ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ મુલાકાત ભલામણ છો?

- હા ☐
- કોઇ ☐

9 તમે લોકો અહીં રહેતા સાથે તમને ઓળખવા નથી
ભૂતકાળ માં?

(મલ્ટીપલ જવાબ)

હા - હું આ વિસ્તારમાં રહેતા

હા - આ સામાન્ય માનવ વારસો છે

હા - હું તે રસપ્રદ શોધવા / હું તે ગમે છે

હા - હું સંબંધિત વસ્તુઓ અભ્યાસ કર્યો છે (પુરાતત્વ, ઇતિહાસ)

હા - અન્યઃ _____

કોઇ - હું રસ નથી

કોઇ - હું તેમને વિશે પૂરતી ખબર નથી

કોઇ - હું આ વિસ્તાર ના નથી છું

કોઇ - હું સંબંધિત વસ્તુઓ નથી અભ્યાસ કર્યો છે

કોઇ - ખૂબ દૂરના

ભૂતકાળમાં

કોઇ - તે સારી રીતે પૂરતી કરવામાં આવ્યું નથી બઢતી

બીજુ કોઇ નહીઃ _____

10 શું તમને લાગે છે ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ ભારતની ઓળખ માટે મહત્વનું છે?

(મલ્ટીપલ જવાબ)

હા - આ અમારા રાષ્ટ્રીય વારસો છે

હા - અમે ગર્વ પ્રયત્ન કરીશું

હા - આ અમારી સંસ્કૃતિ ઉંમર દર્શાવે

હા - અન્યઃ_____

કોઇ - મોટા ભાગના લોકો તે વિશે ખબર નથી

કોઇ - આ આધુનિક ભારતના સાથે સંબંધિત નથી

કોઇ - તે ખાસ નથી

બીજુ કોઇ નહીઃ _____

11 શું તમને લાગે છે ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ વિશ્વના બાકીના માટે મહત્વપૂર્ણ છે?

(મલ્ટીપલ જવાબ)

હા - આ સામાન્ય માનવ વારસો છે

હા - દરેક વ્યક્તિને આ રસ હોવો જોઇએ

હા - અન્યઃ _____

કોઇ - અન્ય દેશોમાં આ જેવા અન્ય સાઇટ્સ છે

બીજુ કોઇ નહીઃ _____

12 તમે જાણો છો કે ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ વર્લ્ડ હેરિટેજ સાઇટ છે?

હા ☐
કોઇ ☐

13 એ મહત્વનું છે કે ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ વર્લ્ડ હેરિટેજ સાઇટ છે?

(મલ્ટીપલ જવાબ)

હા - આ ભારત માટે મહત્વપૂર્ણ છે ☐
હા - આ પ્રવાસન માટે મહત્વપૂર્ણ છે ☐
હા - આ સ્થાનિક અર્થતંત્ર માટે મહત્વનું છે ☐
હા - અન્યઃ _____ ☐
કોઇ - તે એક ફરક નથી ☐
બીજુ કોઇ નહીઃ _____ ☐

14 તમે 'વર્લ્ડ હેરિટેજ' શું સમજી શકું?

| |
|---|
| |

15 જો તમે વર્તમાન પ્રવેશ સ્તર સાથે સંતુષ્ટ છે
સાઇટ માટે કિંમત?

હા ☐
કોઇ ☐

16 જે એજન્સી માટે પ્રવેશ ફી ચૂકવવામાં આવે છે?

| |
|---|
| |

17 તમે ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ ખાતે કોઇપણ સ્થાનિક કે આદિવાસી ગામો પરિચિત છો?

હા ☐

કોઇ ☐

18 તમે પૈસા તરફ ગયા વધારે નાણાં ચૂકવવા તૈયાર હશેઃ

(મલ્ટીપલ જવાબ)

- સ્મારકો માટે વધારાની જાળવણી કામ ☐
- સ્થાનિક સમુદાય ☐
- સારી સુવિધાઓ (શૌચાલય, દુકાનો) ☐
- સ્થાનિક આદિવાસી ગામોમાં વપરાશ / પ્રવાસો પૂરી ☐
- વધુ માર્ગદર્શિકાઓમાં ☐
- મ્યુઝિયમ ☐
- સાઇટ પર વધુ સંશોધન ☐
- સ્થાનિક કલા અને હસ્તકલા પૂરી પાડે છે ☐
- વન અને કુદરતી પર્યાવરણ જાળવણી ☐

19 તમને લાગે છે કે જાહેર નાણાં ખર્ચવામાં જોઇએ
રક્ષણ અને વારસો જાળવણી?

- હા ☐
- કોઇ ☐

20 કેવી રીતે મહત્વપૂર્ણ સમજણ માટે નીચેની વસ્તુઓ છે
આ સાઇટ?

ઇમારતો અને સ્થાપત્ય

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| મહત્વપૂર્ણ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | ખૂબ જ મહત્વપૂર્ણ |

કુદરતી પર્યાવરણ

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| મહત્વપૂર્ણ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | ખૂબ જ મહત્વપૂર્ણ |

સ્થાનિક સમુદાયો

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| મહત્વપૂર્ણ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | ખૂબ જ મહત્વપૂર્ણ |

પુરાતત્વીય ખોદકામ

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| મહત્વપૂર્ણ | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | ખૂબ જ મહત્વપૂર્ણ |

21 અગ્રતા નીચેની વસ્તુઓ આ સાઇટ માટે જોઇએ?

સ્થાનિક સાંસ્કૃતિક પરંપરા જાળવણી

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| લો અગ્રતા | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | ઉચ્ચ અગ્રતા |

રોક ચિત્રો જાળવણી

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| લો અગ્રતા | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | ઉચ્ચ અગ્રતા |

કુદરતી પર્યાવરણ જાળવણી

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| લો અગ્રતા | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | ઉચ્ચ અગ્રતા |

વૈજ્ઞાનિક સંશોધન સાઇટ વધુ સારી રીતે સમજવા માટે

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| લો અગ્રતા | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | ઉચ્ચ અગ્રતા |

પ્રવાસન અને આર્થિક વિકાસ

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| લો અગ્રતા | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | ઉચ્ચ અગ્રતા |

22 તમે કેટલા અંશે વિશે નીચેની નિવેદન સાથે સહમત કરવા માટે જે લોકો સ્મારકો બનાવવામાં?

તેઓ બધા ભારતીયો પૂર્વજો હતા

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| દૃઢતાપૂર્વક અસહમત | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | મજબૂત રીતે સહમત |

તેઓ આજે જે લોકો આ વિસ્તારમાં રહેતા પૂર્વજો હતા

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| દૃઢતાપૂર્વક અસહમત | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | મજબૂત રીતે સહમત |

તેઓ મારા પૂર્વજો હતા

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| દૃઢતાપૂર્વક અસહમત | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | મજબૂત રીતે સહમત |

તેઓ બધા લોકો પૂર્વજો હતા માત્ર ભારતીયો

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| દૃઢતાપૂર્વક અસહમત | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | મજબૂત રીતે સહમત |

તે કહે છે કે તેઓ હતા મુશ્કેલ છે

| | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| દૃઢતાપૂર્વક અસહમત | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | મજબૂત રીતે સહમત |

23 તમે ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ (હવે અથવા ભૂતકાળમાં) પર કોઇપણ પુરાતત્વીય ખોદકામ પરિચિત છો?

હા ☐

કોઇ ☐

24 લાંબા સમય પહેલા ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ ખાતે સ્મારકો બનાવવામાં આવી હતી?

25 તમે આજે ચંપાનેર પાવાગઢ મુલાકાત લઇને શું શીખ્યા?

26 તમારી ઉંમર જૂથ શું છે?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | | 50-54 | |
| 20-24 | | 55-59 | |
| 25-29 | | 60-64 | |
| 30-34 | | 65-69 | |
| 35-39 | | 70-74 | |
| 40-44 | | 75-79 | |
| 45-49 | | 80+ | |

27 તું ક્યાંનો છે?

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| આંધ્ર પ્રદેશ | | 1 | નાગાલેન્ડ | | 19 |
| અરુણાચલ પ્રદેશ | | 2 | ઓરિસ્સા | | 20 |
| આસામ | | 3 | પંજાબ | | 21 |
| બિહાર | | 4 | રાજસ્થાન | | 22 |
| છત્તીસગઢ | | 5 | સિક્કિમ | | 23 |
| ગોવા | | 6 | તમિલનાડુ | | 24 |
| ગુજરાત | | 7 | ત્રિપુરા | | 25 |
| હરિયાણા | | 8 | ઉત્તર પ્રદેશ | | 26 |
| હિમાચલ પ્રદેશ | | 9 | ઉત્તરાખંડ | | 27 |
| જમ્મુ અને કાશ્મીર | | 10 | પશ્ચિમ બંગાળમાં | | 28 |
| ઝારખંડ | | 11 | આંદામાન અને નિકોબાર આઇ | | 29 |
| કર્ણાટક | | 12 | ચંદીગઢ | | 30 |
| કેરળ | | 13 | દાદરા અને નગર હવેલી | | 31 |
| મધ્ય પ્રદેશ | | 14 | દમણ અને દીવ | | 32 |
| મહારાષ્ટ્ર | | 15 | લક્ષદ્વીપ | | 33 |
| મણિપુર | | 16 | NCT | | 34 |
| મેઘાલય | | 17 | પોંડિચેરી | | 35 |
| મિઝોરમ | | 18 | | | |

અન્ય: _____ ☐ 36

28 તમારી માતૃભાષા શું છે?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| બંગાળી | ☐ 1 | ભિલાઇ | ☐ 12 |
| ગુજરાતી | ☐ 2 | ગોંડી | ☐ 13 |
| હિન્દી | ☐ 3 | Korku | ☐ 14 |
| કન્નડા | ☐ 4 | Kalto | ☐ 15 |
| મલયાલમ | ☐ 5 | Nihali | ☐ 16 |
| મરાઠી | ☐ 6 | Saraiki | ☐ 17 |
| ઉડિયા | ☐ 7 | પશ્તો | ☐ 18 |
| પંજાબી | ☐ 8 | Malvi | ☐ 19 |
| તમિલ | ☐ 9 | Nimadi | ☐ 20 |
| તેલુગુ | ☐ 10 | Bundeli | ☐ 21 |
| ઉર્દુ | ☐ 11 | Bagheli | ☐ 22 |

અન્ય: _____ ☐ 23

29 તમારા ધર્મ શું છે?

હિન્દૂ ☐
મુસ્લિમ ☐
મુસ્લિમ ☐
ખ્રિસ્તી ☐
બૌદ્ધ ☐
જૈન ☐
અન્ય: _____ ☐

30 તમારા વ્યવસાય શું છે?

ખેડૂત ☐
ખેતમજૂર ☐
ગૃહઉધોગમાં કામદાર ☐
વિદ્યાર્થી ☐
ઘરની ફરજો ☐
આશ્રિત ☐
પેન્શનર ☐
ભાડાજીવી ☐
અન્ય: _____ ☐

31 શું શિક્ષણ સ્તર તમે પહોંચી ગયા છો?

| | |
|---|---|
| પ્રાથમિક | ☐ |
| માધ્યમિક | ☐ |
| ઉચ્ચ | ☐ |
| ટેકનિકલ | ☐ |
| અન્ય: _____ | ☐ |

32 તમારી સેક્સ શું છે?

| | |
|---|---|
| પુરૂષ | ☐ |
| પુરૂષ | ☐ |

## 7.2 Local community surveys

### 7.2.1 Bhimbetka: English questionnaire form

1 How long has your family lived in this village?

- Less than 20 years ☐
- 20 – 40 years ☐
- 40 – 60 years ☐
- 60 – 80 years ☐
- 80 – 100 years ☐
- More than 100 years ☐
- We have always lived here ☐
- I don't know exactly ☐

2 Have you visited Bhimbetka before?

- No ☐
- Yes, once before ☐
- Yes, 2 – 3 times ☐
- Yes, more than 3 times ☐

3 How old are the paintings at Bhimbetka?

- 100 years old ☐
- 500 years old ☐
- 1,000 years old ☐
- 10,000 years old ☐
- 100,000 years old ☐
- I don't know ☐

4 Who created the paintings at Bhimbetka?
Tick as many answers as you like.

- My people ☐
- The people who live in this area today ☐
- Tribal people ☐
- Ancient people ☐
- Priests ☐
- Witches ☐

I don’t know ☐

5 Does the ASI help you to understand the paintings at Bhimbetka better?

Yes ☐
No ☐
I don’t know who the ASI are ☐

6 Did you know that Bhimbetka is a world heritage site?

Yes ☐
No ☐

7 Is it important that Bhimbetka is a world heritage site? Tick as many answers as you like.

Yes - This is important for India ☐
Yes - This is important for tourism ☐
Yes - This is important for the local economy ☐
No - It doesn't make a difference ☐

8 Does the world heritage site benefit you?
Tick as many answers as you like.

Yes, I find it interesting ☐
Yes, I make money from the visitors ☐
Yes, our village has more resources now ☐
No, it makes no difference ☐
No, it makes things worse ☐
No, it restricts us too much ☐
I don’t know ☐

9 What is your age group?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | ☐ | 50-54 | ☐ |
| 20-24 | ☐ | 55-59 | ☐ |
| 25-29 | ☐ | 60-64 | ☐ |
| 30-34 | ☐ | 65-69 | ☐ |
| 35-39 | ☐ | 70-74 | ☐ |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 40-44 | | 75-79 | |
| 45-49 | | 80+ | |

10 What is your mother tongue?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bengali | | Bhili | |
| Gujarati | | Gondi | |
| Hindi | | Korku | |
| Kannada | | Kalto | |
| Malayalam | | Nihali | |
| Marathi | | Saraiki | |
| Oriya | | Pashto | |
| Punjabi | | Malvi | |
| Tamil | | Nimadi | |
| Telugu | | Bundeli | |
| Urdu | | Bagheli | |

Other: _____ ☐

11 What is your religion?

| | |
|---|---|
| Hindu | ☐ |
| Muslim | ☐ |
| Christian | ☐ |
| Sikh | ☐ |
| Buddhist | ☐ |
| Jain | ☐ |
| Other: _____ | ☐ |

12 What is your occupation?

| | |
|---|---|
| Cultivator | ☐ |
| Agricultural labourer | ☐ |
| Worker in Household Industry | ☐ |
| Student | ☐ |
| Household duties | ☐ |
| Dependent | ☐ |
| Pensioner | ☐ |
| Rentier | ☐ |

Other: _____ ☐

13 What level of education have you reached?

Primary ☐
Secondary ☐
Higher ☐
Technical ☐
Other: _____ ☐

14 Are you a member of a Scheduled Tribe?

Yes ☐
No ☐

15 What is your sex?

Male ☐
Female ☐

### 7.2.2 Bhimbetka: Hindi questionnaire form

1 कब तक अपने परिवार के इस गांव में रहता है?

- 20 वर्ष से कम ☐
- 20 - 40 साल ☐
- 40 - 60 साल ☐
- 60 - 80 साल ☐
- 80 - 100 साल ☐
- 100 से अधिक वर्षों ☐
- हम हमेशा यहाँ रह चुके हैं ☐
- मुझे ठीक से पता नहीं है ☐

2 आप पहले भीमबेटका दौरा किया है?

- नहीं ☐
- हाँ - एक बार पहले ☐
- हाँ 2-3 बार ☐
- हाँ अधिक से अधिक 3 बार ☐

3 कितने साल भीमबेटका में चित्रों रहे हैं?

- 100 साल पुराना ☐
- 500 वर्ष ☐
- 1000 साल पुरानी ☐
- 10,000 वर्ष ☐
- 100,000 वर्ष ☐
- मुझे नहीं पता ☐

4 कौन भीमबेटका में चित्रों बनाया?
आप की तरह के रूप में कई जवाब टिक।

- मेरे लोग ☐
- जो लोग आज इस क्षेत्र में रहते हैं ☐
- जनजातीय लोग ☐
- राचीन लोग ☐
- पुजारी ☐
- चुड़ैलों ☐
- मुझे नहीं पता ☐

5 एएसआई आप भीमबेटका में चित्रों को समझने के लिए बेहतर करने में मदद करता है?

| | |
|---|---|
| हाँ | ☐ |
| नहीं | ☐ |
| मैं नहीं जानता कि क्या एएसआई है | ☐ |

6 आप जानते हैं कि भीमबेटका एक विश्व धरोहर स्थल है?

| | |
|---|---|
| हाँ | ☐ |
| नहीं | ☐ |

7 क्या यह जरूरी है कि भीमबेटका एक विश्व धरोहर स्थल है?
आप की तरह के रूप में कई जवाब टिक।

| | |
|---|---|
| हाँ - यह भारत के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है | ☐ |
| हाँ - यह पर्यटन के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है | ☐ |
| हाँ - यह स्थानीय अर्थव्यवस्था के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है | ☐ |
| नहीं - यह एक फर्क नहीं पड़ता | ☐ |

8 विश्व विरासत स्थल आप लाभ होता है?
आप की तरह के रूप में कई जवाब टिक।

| | |
|---|---|
| हाँ, मैं यह दिलचस्प लगता है | ☐ |
| हाँ, मैं आगंतुकों से पैसा बनाने | ☐ |
| हाँ, हमारे गांव अब और अधिक संसाधनों की है | ☐ |
| नहीं, यह कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता | ☐ |
| नहीं, यह चीजों को बदतर बना देता है | ☐ |
| नहीं, यह हमें बहुत ज्यादा प्रतिबंधित | ☐ |
| मुझे नहीं पता | ☐ |

9 अपने आयु वर्ग क्या है?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | ☐ | 50-54 | ☐ |
| 20-24 | ☐ | 55-59 | ☐ |
| 25-29 | ☐ | 60-64 | ☐ |
| 30-34 | ☐ | 65-69 | ☐ |
| 35-39 | ☐ | 70-74 | ☐ |
| 40-44 | ☐ | 75-79 | ☐ |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 45-49 | ☐ | 80+ | ☐ |

10 तुम्हारी मातृभाषा क्या है?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| बंगाली | ☐ | भीली | ☐ |
| गुजराती | ☐ | गोंडी | ☐ |
| हिंदी | ☐ | कोरकू | ☐ |
| कन्नड़ | ☐ | नाहाली | ☐ |
| मलयालम | ☐ | नीहाली | ☐ |
| मराठी | ☐ | सराइकी | ☐ |
| ओरिया | ☐ | पश्तो | ☐ |
| पंजाबी | ☐ | मालवी | ☐ |
| तामिल | ☐ | नीएमएडी | ☐ |
| तेलुगु | ☐ | बुंदेली | ☐ |
| उर् | ☐ | बघेली | ☐ |

अन्य: _____ ☐

11 आपका धर्म क्या है?

| | |
|---|---|
| हिंदू | ☐ |
| मुसलमान | ☐ |
| ईसाई | ☐ |
| सिख | ☐ |
| बौद् | ☐ |
| जैन | ☐ |
| अन्य: _____ | ☐ |

12 आपका व्यवसाय क्या है?

| | |
|---|---|
| कृषक | ☐ |
| कृषि मजदूर | ☐ |
| घरेलू उद्योग में कार्यकर्ता | ☐ |
| छात्र | ☐ |
| घर के कर्तव्यों | ☐ |
| आश्रित | ☐ |
| पेंशनभोगी | ☐ |
| किराये पर देनेवाला | ☐ |
| अन्य: _____ | ☐ |

13 शिक्षा का स्तर क्या आप आए हैं?

| | |
|---|---|
| मुख्य | ☐ |
| माध्यमिक | ☐ |
| उच्चतर | ☐ |
| तकनीकी | ☐ |
| अन्य: _____ | ☐ |

14 यदि आप एक अनुसूचित जनजाति के एक सदस्य हैं?

| | |
|---|---|
| हाँ | ☐ |
| नहीं | ☐ |

15 आपका लिंग क्या है?

| | |
|---|---|
| नर | ☐ |
| महिला | ☐ |

### 7.2.3 Sanchi: English questionnaire form

1 How long has your family lived in this village?

- Less than 20 years ☐
- 20 – 40 years ☐
- 40 – 60 years ☐
- 60 – 80 years ☐
- 80 – 100 years ☐
- More than 100 years ☐
- We have always lived here ☐
- I don't know exactly ☐

2 Have you visited Sanchi before?

- No ☐
- Yes, once before ☐
- Yes, 2 – 3 times ☐
- Yes, more than 3 times ☐

3 How old are the monuments at Sanchi?

- 100 years old ☐
- 500 years old ☐
- 1,000 years old ☐
- 2,000 years old ☐
- 10,000 years old ☐
- 100,000 years old ☐
- I don't know ☐

4 Who created the monuments at Sanchi?
Tick as many answers as you like.

- My people ☐
- The people who live in this area today ☐
- Tribal people ☐
- Ancient people ☐
- Hindus ☐
- Buddhists ☐
- Muslims ☐

I don’t know ☐

5 Does the ASI help you to understand the monuments at Sanchi better?

Yes ☐
No ☐
I don’t know who the ASI are ☐

6 Did you know that Sanchi is a world heritage site?

Yes ☐
No ☐

7 Is it important that Sanchi is a world heritage site? Tick as many answers as you like.

Yes - This is important for India ☐
Yes - This is important for tourism ☐
Yes - This is important for the local economy ☐
No - It doesn't make a difference ☐

8 Does the world heritage site benefit you?
Tick as many answers as you like.

Yes, I find it interesting ☐
Yes, I make money from the visitors ☐
Yes, our village has more resources now ☐
No, it makes no difference ☐
No, it makes things worse ☐
No, it restricts us too much ☐
I don’t know ☐

9 What is your age group?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | ☐ | 50-54 | ☐ |
| 20-24 | ☐ | 55-59 | ☐ |
| 25-29 | ☐ | 60-64 | ☐ |
| 30-34 | ☐ | 65-69 | ☐ |
| 35-39 | ☐ | 70-74 | ☐ |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 40-44 | | 75-79 | |
| 45-49 | | 80+ | |

10 What is your mother tongue?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bengali | | Bhili | |
| Gujarati | | Gondi | |
| Hindi | | Korku | |
| Kannada | | Kalto | |
| Malayalam | | Nihali | |
| Marathi | | Saraiki | |
| Oriya | | Pashto | |
| Punjabi | | Malvi | |
| Tamil | | Nimadi | |
| Telugu | | Bundeli | |
| Urdu | | Bagheli | |

Other: _____ ☐

11 What is your religion?

| | |
|---|---|
| Hindu | ☐ |
| Muslim | ☐ |
| Christian | ☐ |
| Sikh | ☐ |
| Buddhist | ☐ |
| Jain | ☐ |
| Other: _____ | ☐ |

12 What is your occupation?

| | |
|---|---|
| Cultivator | ☐ |
| Agricultural labourer | ☐ |
| Worker in Household Industry | ☐ |
| Student | ☐ |
| Household duties | ☐ |
| Dependent | ☐ |
| Pensioner | ☐ |
| Rentier | ☐ |

Other: _____ ☐

13 What level of education have you reached?

Primary ☐
Secondary ☐
Higher ☐
Technical ☐
Other: _____ ☐

14 Are you a member of a Scheduled Tribe?

Yes ☐
No ☐

15 What is your sex?

Male ☐
Female ☐

### 7.2.4 Sanchi: Hindi questionnaire form

1 कब तक अपने परिवार के इस गांव में रहता है?

| | |
|---|---|
| 20 वर्ष से कम | ☐ |
| 20 - 40 साल | ☐ |
| 40 - 60 साल | ☐ |
| 60 - 80 साल | ☐ |
| 80 - 100 साल | ☐ |
| 100 से अधिक वर्षों | ☐ |
| हम हमेशा यहाँ रह चुके हैं | ☐ |
| मुझे ठीक से पता नहीं है | ☐ |

2 आप पहले सांची दौरा किया है?

| | |
|---|---|
| नहीं | ☐ |
| हाँ - एक बार पहले | ☐ |
| हाँ 2-3 बार | ☐ |
| हाँ अधिक से अधिक 3 बार | ☐ |

3 कितने साल सांची में स्मारकों हैं?

| | |
|---|---|
| 100 साल पुराना | ☐ |
| 500 वर्ष | ☐ |
| 1000 साल पुरानी | ☐ |
| 2000 साल पुरानी | ☐ |
| 10000 वर्ष | ☐ |
| 100000 वर्ष | ☐ |
| मुझे नहीं पता | ☐ |

4 कौन सांची में स्मारकों बनाया?
आप की तरह के रूप में कई जवाब टिक।

| | |
|---|---|
| मेरे लोग | ☐ |
| जो लोग आज इस क्षेत्र में रहते हैं | ☐ |
| जनजातीय लोग | ☐ |
| राचीन लोग | ☐ |
| हिंदुओं | ☐ |
| बौद्ध | ☐ |
| मुसलमानों | ☐ |

मुझे नहीं पता ☐

5 एएसआई आप सांची में स्मारकों को समझने के लिए बेहतर करने में मदद करता है?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐
मैं नहीं जानता कि क्या एएसआई है ☐

6 आप जानते हैं कि सांची एक विश्व धरोहर स्थल है?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

7 क्या यह जरूरी है कि भीमबेटका एक विश्व धरोहर स्थल है?
आप की तरह के रूप में कई जवाब टिक।

हाँ - यह भारत के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है ☐
हाँ - यह पर्यटन के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है ☐
हाँ - यह स्थानीय अर्थव्यवस्था के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है ☐
नहीं - यह एक फर्क नहीं पड़ता ☐

8 विश्व विरासत स्थल आप लाभ होता है?
आप की तरह के रूप में कई जवाब टिक।

हाँ, मैं यह दिलचस्प लगता है ☐
हाँ, मैं आगंतुकों से पैसा बनाने ☐
हाँ, हमारे गांव अब और अधिक संसाधनों की है ☐
नहीं, यह कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता ☐
नहीं, यह चीजों को बदतर बना देता है ☐
नहीं, यह हमें बहुत ज्यादा प्रतिबंधित ☐
मुझे नहीं पता ☐

9 अपने आयु वर्ग क्या है?

18-19 ☐ 50-54 ☐
20-24 ☐ 55-59 ☐
25-29 ☐ 60-64 ☐
30-34 ☐ 65-69 ☐

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 35-39 | ☐ | 70-74 | ☐ |
| 40-44 | ☐ | 75-79 | ☐ |
| 45-49 | ☐ | 80+ | ☐ |

10 तुम्हारी मातृभाषा क्या है?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| बंगाली | ☐ | भीली | ☐ |
| गुजराती | ☐ | गोंडी | ☐ |
| हिंदी | ☐ | कोरकू | ☐ |
| कन्नड़ | ☐ | नाहाली | ☐ |
| मलयालम | ☐ | नीहाली | ☐ |
| मराठी | ☐ | सराइकी | ☐ |
| ओरिया | ☐ | पश्तो | ☐ |
| पंजाबी | ☐ | मालवी | ☐ |
| तामिल | ☐ | नीएमएडी | ☐ |
| तेलुगु | ☐ | बुंदेली | ☐ |
| उर् | ☐ | बघेली | ☐ |

अन्य: _____ ☐

11 आपका धर्म क्या है?

| | |
|---|---|
| हिंदू | ☐ |
| मुसलमान | ☐ |
| ईसाई | ☐ |
| सिख | ☐ |
| बौद् | ☐ |
| जैन | ☐ |
| अन्य: _____ | ☐ |

12 आपका व्यवसाय क्या है?

| | |
|---|---|
| कृषक | ☐ |
| कृषि मजदूर | ☐ |
| घरेलू उद्योग में कार्यकर्ता | ☐ |
| छात्र | ☐ |
| घर के कर्तव्यों | ☐ |
| आश्रित | ☐ |
| पेंशनभोगी | ☐ |

किराये पर देनेवाला ☐
अन्य: _____ ☐

13 शिक्षा का स्तर क्या आप आए हैं?

मुख्य ☐
माध्यमिक ☐
उच्चतर ☐
तकनीकी ☐
अन्य: _____ ☐

14 यदि आप एक अनुसूचित जनजाति के एक सदस्य हैं?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

15 आपका लिंग क्या है?

नर ☐
महिला ☐

### 7.2.5 Champaner-Pavagadh: English questionnaire form

1 How long has your family lived in this village?

| | |
|---|---|
| Less than 20 years | ☐ |
| 20 – 40 years | ☐ |
| 40 – 60 years | ☐ |
| 60 – 80 years | ☐ |
| 80 – 100 years | ☐ |
| More than 100 years | ☐ |
| We have always lived here | ☐ |
| I don't know exactly | ☐ |

2 Have you visited Champaner-Pavagadh before?

| | |
|---|---|
| No | ☐ |
| Yes, once before | ☐ |
| Yes, 2 – 3 times | ☐ |
| Yes, more than 3 times | ☐ |

3 How old are the monuments at Champaner-Pavagadh?

| | |
|---|---|
| 100 years old | ☐ |
| 400 years old | ☐ |
| 1,000 years old | ☐ |
| 2,000 years old | ☐ |
| 10,000 years old | ☐ |
| 100,000 years old | ☐ |
| I don't know | ☐ |

4 Who created the monuments at Champaner-Pavagadh?
Tick as many answers as you like.

| | |
|---|---|
| My people | ☐ |
| The people who live in this area today | ☐ |
| Tribal people | ☐ |
| Ancient people | ☐ |
| Hindus | ☐ |
| Buddhists | ☐ |
| Muslims | ☐ |

Jains ☐
I don't know ☐

5 Does the ASI help you to understand the monuments at Champaner-Pavagadh better?

Yes ☐
No ☐
I don't know who the ASI are ☐

6 Did you know that Champaner-Pavagadh is a world heritage site?

Yes ☐
No ☐

7 Is it important that Champaner-Pavagadh is a world heritage site? Tick as many answers as you like.

Yes - This is important for India ☐
Yes - This is important for tourism ☐
Yes - This is important for the local economy ☐
No - It doesn't make a difference ☐

8 Does the world heritage site benefit you?
Tick as many answers as you like.

Yes, I find it interesting ☐
Yes, I make money from the visitors ☐
Yes, our village has more resources now ☐
No, it makes no difference ☐
No, it makes things worse ☐
No, it restricts us too much ☐
I don't know ☐

9 What is your age group?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | ☐ | 50-54 | ☐ |
| 20-24 | ☐ | 55-59 | ☐ |
| 25-29 | ☐ | 60-64 | ☐ |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 30-34 | | 65-69 | |
| 35-39 | | 70-74 | |
| 40-44 | | 75-79 | |
| 45-49 | | 80+ | |

10 What is your mother tongue?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bengali | | Bhili | |
| Gujarati | | Gondi | |
| Hindi | | Korku | |
| Kannada | | Kalto | |
| Malayalam | | Nihali | |
| Marathi | | Saraiki | |
| Oriya | | Pashto | |
| Punjabi | | Malvi | |
| Tamil | | Nimadi | |
| Telugu | | Bundeli | |
| Urdu | | Bagheli | |

Other: _____ 

11 What is your religion?

| | |
|---|---|
| Hindu | |
| Muslim | |
| Christian | |
| Sikh | |
| Buddhist | |
| Jain | |
| Other: _____ | |

12 What is your occupation?

| | |
|---|---|
| Cultivator | |
| Agricultural labourer | |
| Worker in Household Industry | |
| Student | |
| Household duties | |
| Dependent | |

Pensioner ☐
Rentier ☐
Other: _____ ☐

13 What level of education have you reached?

Primary ☐
Secondary ☐
Higher ☐
Technical ☐
Other: _____ ☐

14 Are you a member of a Scheduled Tribe?

Yes ☐
No ☐

15 What is your sex?

Male ☐
Female ☐

### 7.2.6 Champaner-Pavagadh: Hindi questionnaire form

1 कब तक अपने परिवार के इस गांव में रहता है?

| | |
|---|---|
| 20 वर्ष से कम | ☐ |
| 20 - 40 साल | ☐ |
| 40 - 60 साल | ☐ |
| 60 - 80 साल | ☐ |
| 80 - 100 साल | ☐ |
| 100 से अधिक वर्षों | ☐ |
| हम हमेशा यहाँ रह चुके हैं | ☐ |
| मुझे ठीक से पता नहीं है | ☐ |

2 आप पहले चंपानेर-पावागढ़ दौरा किया है?

| | |
|---|---|
| नहीं | ☐ |
| हाँ - एक बार पहले | ☐ |
| हाँ 2-3 बार | ☐ |
| हाँ अधिक से अधिक 3 बार | ☐ |

3 कितने साल चंपानेर-पावागढ़ में स्मारकों हैं?

| | |
|---|---|
| 100 साल पुराना | ☐ |
| 400 वर्ष | ☐ |
| 1000 साल पुरानी | ☐ |
| 2000 साल पुरानी | ☐ |
| 10000 वर्ष | ☐ |
| 100000 वर्ष | ☐ |
| मुझे नहीं पता | ☐ |

4 कौन चंपानेर-पावागढ़ में स्मारकों बनाया?
आप की तरह के रूप में कई जवाब टिक।

| | |
|---|---|
| मेरे लोग | ☐ |
| जो लोग आज इस क्षेत्र में रहते हैं | ☐ |
| जनजातीय लोग | ☐ |
| प्राचीन लोग | ☐ |
| हिंदुओं | ☐ |
| बौद्ध | ☐ |
| मुसलमानों | ☐ |

जैनियों ☐
मुझे नहीं पता ☐

5 एएसआई आप मदद चंपानेर-पावागढ़ में स्मारकों बेहतर समझने के लिए करता है?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐
मैं नहीं जानता कि क्या एएसआई है ☐

6 आप जानते हैं कि चंपानेर-पावागढ़ एक विश्व धरोहर स्थल है?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

7 या यह जरूरी है कि चंपानेर-पावागढ़ एक विश्व धरोहर स्थल है? आप की तरह के रूप में कई जवाब टिक।

हाँ - यह भारत के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है ☐
हाँ - यह पर्यटन के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है ☐
हाँ - यह स्थानीय अर्थव्यवस्था के लिए महत्वपूर्ण है ☐
नहीं - यह एक फर्क नहीं पड़ता ☐

8 विश्व विरासत स्थल आप लाभ होता है?
आप की तरह के रूप में कई जवाब टिक।

हाँ, मैं यह दिलचस्प लगता है ☐
हाँ, मैं आगंतुकों से पैसा बनाने ☐
हाँ, हमारे गांव अब और अधिक संसाधनों की है ☐
नहीं, यह कोई फर्क नहीं पड़ता ☐
नहीं, यह चीजों को बदतर बना देता है ☐
नहीं, यह हमें बहुत ज्यादा प्रतिबंधित ☐
मुझे नहीं पता ☐

9 अपने आयु वर्ग क्या है?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | ☐ | 50-54 | ☐ |
| 20-24 | ☐ | 55-59 | ☐ |
| 25-29 | ☐ | 60-64 | ☐ |
| 30-34 | ☐ | 65-69 | ☐ |

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 35-39 | ☐ | 70-74 | ☐ |
| 40-44 | ☐ | 75-79 | ☐ |
| 45-49 | ☐ | 80+ | ☐ |

10 तुम्हारी मातृभाषा क्या है?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| बंगाली | ☐ | भीली | ☐ |
| गुजराती | ☐ | गोंडी | ☐ |
| हिंदी | ☐ | कोरकू | ☐ |
| कन्नड़ | ☐ | नाहाली | ☐ |
| मलयालम | ☐ | नीहाली | ☐ |
| मराठी | ☐ | सराइकी | ☐ |
| ओरिया | ☐ | पश्तो | ☐ |
| पंजाबी | ☐ | मालवी | ☐ |
| तामिल | ☐ | नीएमएडी | ☐ |
| तेलुगु | ☐ | बुंदेली | ☐ |
| उर् | ☐ | बघेली | ☐ |

अन्य: _____ ☐

11 आपका धर्म क्या है?

| | |
|---|---|
| हिंदू | ☐ |
| मुसलमान | ☐ |
| ईसाई | ☐ |
| सिख | ☐ |
| बौद् | ☐ |
| जैन | ☐ |
| अन्य: _____ | ☐ |

12 आपका व्यवसाय क्या है?

| | |
|---|---|
| कृषक | ☐ |
| कृषि मजदूर | ☐ |
| घरेलू उद्योग में कार्यकर्ता | ☐ |
| छात्र | ☐ |
| घर के कर्तव्यों | ☐ |
| आश्रित | ☐ |
| पेंशनभोगी | ☐ |

किराये पर देनेवाला ☐
अन्य: _____ ☐

13 शिक्षा का स्तर क्या आप आए हैं?

मुख्य ☐
माध्यमिक ☐
उच्चतर ☐
तकनीकी ☐
अन्य: _____ ☐

14 यदि आप एक अनुसूचित जनजाति के एक सदस्य हैं?

हाँ ☐
नहीं ☐

15 आपका लिंग क्या है?

नर ☐
महिला ☐

### 7.2.7 Champaner-Pavagadh: Gujarati questionnaire form

1 લાંબા કેવી રીતે તમારા કુટુંબ આ ગામમાં રહેતા હતા?

- કરતાં ઓછી 20 વર્ષ ☐
- 20 - 40 વર્ષ ☐
- 40 - 60 વર્ષ ☐
- 60 – 80 વર્ષ ☐
- 80 – 100 વર્ષ ☐
- 100 કરતાં વધારે વર્ષો ☐
- અમે હંમેશા અહીં રહેતા હોય ☐
- હું બરાબર ખબર નથી ☐

2 તમે પહેલાં ચંપાનેર-પાવાગઢ મુલાકાત લીધી?

- કોઇ ☐
- હા, એક વખત પહેલાં ☐
- હા, 2 - 3 વખત ☐
- હા, એક કરતાં વધુ 3 વખત ☐

3 કેવી રીતે જૂના ચંપાનેર-પાવાગઢ ખાતે સ્મારકો છે?

- 100 વર્ષ જૂના ☐
- 400 વર્ષ જૂના ☐
- 1,000 વર્ષ જૂના ☐
- 2,000 વર્ષ જૂના ☐
- 10,000 વર્ષ જૂના ☐
- 100,000 વર્ષ જૂના ☐
- મને ખબર નથી ☐

4 ચંપાનેર-પાવાગઢ ખાતે સ્મારકો બનાવવામાં?
કારણ કે તમે ગમે તેટલા જવાબો ટિક.

- મારા લોકો ☐
- જે લોકો આજે આ વિસ્તારમાં રહેતા ☐
- આદિવાસી લોકો ☐

પ્રાચીન લોકો
હિન્દુઓ
બૌદ્ધ
મુસ્લિમો
જૈનો
મને ખબર નથી

5 ASI તમે મદદ ચંપાનેર-પાવાગઢ ખાતે સ્મારકો વધુ સારી રીતે સમજવા માટે છે?

હા
કોઇ
મને ખબર નથી કે જેઓ ASI છે

6 તમે જાણો છો કે ચંપાનેર-પાવાગઢ વર્લ્ડ હેરિટેજ સાઇટ છે?

હા
કોઇ

7 એ મહત્વનું છે કે ચંપાનેર-પાવાગઢ વર્લ્ડ હેરિટેજ સાઇટ છે? કારણ કે તમે ગમે તેટલા જવાબો ટિક.

હા - આ ભારત માટે મહત્વપૂર્ણ છે
હા - આ પ્રવાસન માટે મહત્વપૂર્ણ છે
હા - આ સ્થાનિક અર્થતંત્ર માટે મહત્વનું છે
કોઇ - તે એક ફરક નથી

8 વર્લ્ડ હેરિટેજ સાઇટ તમે લાભ થાય છે?
કારણ કે તમે ગમે તેટલા જવાબો ટિક.

હા, હું તે રસપ્રદ
હા, હું મુલાકાતીઓ પાસેથી પૈસા બનાવવા
હા, અમારા ગામ હવે વધુ સંસાધનો ધરાવે છે
ના, તે કોઇ તફાવત બનાવે છે
ના, તે વસ્તુઓ ખરાબ બનાવે
ના, તે અમને ખૂબ જ પ્રતિબંધિત

મને ખબર નથી ☐

9 તમારા વય જૂથ શું છે?

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 18-19 | ☐ | 50-54 | ☐ |
| 20-24 | ☐ | 55-59 | ☐ |
| 25-29 | ☐ | 60-64 | ☐ |
| 30-34 | ☐ | 65-69 | ☐ |
| 35-39 | ☐ | 70-74 | ☐ |
| 40-44 | ☐ | 75-79 | ☐ |
| 45-49 | ☐ | 80+ | ☐ |

10 તમારી માતૃભાષા શું છે??

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| બંગાળી | ☐ | ભિલાઇ | ☐ |
| ગુજરાતી | ☐ | ગોંડી | ☐ |
| હિન્દી | ☐ | Korku | ☐ |
| કન્નડા | ☐ | Kalto | ☐ |
| મલયાલમ | ☐ | Nihali | ☐ |
| મરાઠી | ☐ | Saraiki | ☐ |
| ઉડિયા | ☐ | પશ્તો | ☐ |
| પંજાબી | ☐ | Malvi | ☐ |
| તમિલ | ☐ | Nimadi | ☐ |
| તેલુગુ | ☐ | Bundeli | ☐ |
| ઉર્દુ | ☐ | Bagheli | ☐ |

અન્ય: _____ ☐

11 તમારા ધર્મ શું છે?

| | |
|---|---|
| હિન્દૂ | ☐ |
| મુસ્લિમ | ☐ |
| ખ્રિસ્તી | ☐ |
| શીખ | ☐ |
| બૌદ્ધ | ☐ |
| જૈન | ☐ |

અન્યઃ _____ ☐

12 તમારા વ્યવસાય શું છે?

ખેડૂત ☐
ખેતમજૂર ☐
ગૃહઉધોગમાં કામદાર ☐
વિધાર્થી ☐
ઘરની ફરજો ☐
આશ્રિત ☐
પેન્શનર ☐
ભાડાજીવી ☐
અન્યઃ _____ ☐

13 શું શિક્ષણ સ્તર તમે પહોંચી ગયા છો?

પ્રાથમિક ☐
માધ્યમિક ☐
ઉચ્ચ ☐
ટેકનિકલ ☐
અન્યઃ _____ ☐

14 તમે અનુસૂચિત જનજાતતના સભ્ય છો?

હા ☐
કોઇ ☐

15 તમારી સેક્સ શું છે?

પુરૂષ ☐
સ્ત્રી ☐

# Appendix 2: Informed Consent Form

**Informed Consent Form for PhD thesis research**

**Please complete this form after you have read the Information below explaining the research.**

Project Title: Whose Heritage? Archaeology and Identity in India

Researcher: Brian Hole

The aims of this research project is to better understand, within India:

1. How do visitors and local communities relate to world heritage sites in terms of understanding the past?
2. How do visitors and local communities relate to world heritage sites in terms of identity?
3. Do visitors to world heritage sites and local communities value the contribution of archaeology?
4. Do world heritage sites benefit local communities

The anonymised data from this research will be made freely and publicly available, and also shared with the ASI to help them improve the site.

Thank you for your interest in taking part in this research. Before you agree to take part, the person organising the research must explain the project to you.

If you have any questions arising from the explanation given to you here, please ask the researcher before you to decide whether to join in. You will be given a copy of this Consent Form to keep and refer to at any time.

**Participant's Statement**

I agree that:

- I have read the notes written above, and understand what the study involves.
- I understand that if I decide at any time that I no longer wish to take part in this project, I can notify the researchers involved and withdraw immediately.
- I consent to the processing of my personal information for this research study.
- I understand that such information will be treated as strictly confidential and handled in accordance with the provisions of the United Kingdom Data Protection Act 1998.
- I agree that the research project named above has been explained to me to my satisfaction and I agree to take part in this study.

Signature: _____ Date: _____